

Weekly Report

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No. 31

WEEK ENDING JULY 29, 1960

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The Authoritative Reference on Congress

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Congressional Boxscore

MAJOR LEGISLATION IN 86th CONGRESS

As of July 29, 1960

Party Lineups

	Dem.	GOP	Vacancies
SENATE	65	35	0
HOUSE	281	152	4

BILL		HOUSE		SENATE		STATUS
Federal Education Aid	(S 8) (HR 10128)	Reported 3/25/60	Passed 5/26/60	Reported 9/12/59	Passed 2/4/60	
Student Disclaimer Affidavit	(S 2929)	Hearings Underway		Reported 5/12/60	Passed 6/16/60	
Depressed Areas	(S 722)	Reported 5/14/59	Passed 5/4/60	Reported 3/18/59	Passed 3/23/59	Vetoed 5/13/60
Civil Rights	(HR 8601)	Reported 8/20/59	Passed 3/24/60	Reported 3/29/60	Passed 4/8/60	PL 86-449 5/6/60
International Dvpt. Assn.	(HR 11001)	Reported 6/8/60	Passed 6/29/60	Reported 5/13/60	Passed 6/29/60	PL 86-565 6/30/60
Rivers and Harbors	(HR 7634)	Reported 6/12/59	Passed 7/16/59	Reported 6/6/60	Passed 6/17/60	PL 86-645 7/14/60
Emergency Housing	(HR 10213)	Reported 3/15/60	Passed 4/28/60	Hearings Completed		
Omnibus Housing	(S 3670) (HR 12603)	Reported 6/20/60		Reported 6/14/60	Passed 6/16/60	
Veterans' Benefits	(S 1138) (HR 2258)	Hearings Completed		Reported 7/14/59	Passed 7/21/59	
Social Security	(HR 12580)	Reported 6/13/60	Passed 6/23/60	Hearings Completed		
Minimum Wage	(S 3758) (HR 12677)	Reported 6/22/60	Passed 6/30/60	Reported 6/27/60		
Common-Site Picketing	(S 2643) (HR 9070)	Reported 4/27/60		Hearings Completed		
Wheat Bill	(S 2759) (HR 12261)	Reported 5/20/60	Rejected 6/23/60	Reported 5/2/60	Passed 6/9/60	
Sugar Act Extension	(HR 12311)	Reported 6/6/60	Passed 6/30/60	Reported 7/1/60	Passed 7/3/60	PL 86-592 7/6/60
Mutual Security Program	(HR 11510)	Reported 4/7/60	Passed 4/21/60	Reported 4/22/60	Passed 5/2/60	PL 86-472 5/14/60
Mutual Security Funds	(HR 12619)	Reported 6/13/60	Passed 6/17/60	Hearings Completed		
Corporate, Excise Taxes	(HR 12381)	Reported 5/31/60	Passed 6/8/60	Reported 6/16/60	Passed 6/20/60	PL 86-564 6/30/60
Postal Rate Increase	(S 3192) (HR 11140)	Hearings Completed				
Gas Tax Increase						
Regulatory Agency Rules	(S 2374) (HR 12731)	Reported 7/1/60		Hearings Underway		
Clean Elections	(S 2436)			Reported 7/23/59	Passed 1/25/60	
Federal Pay Raise	(HR 9883)	Reported 5/23/60	Passed 6/15/60	Reported 6/15/60	Passed 6/17/60	PL 86-568 7/1/60
Foreign Investments	(S 3251, 3252) (HR 5)	Reported 2/19/60	Passed 5/18/60	Hearings Underway		
Bond Interest Rates	(S 2813) (HR 10590)	Reported 2/29/60				
International Court Powers	(S Res 94)	No House Action Needed		Hearings Completed		

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

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1960 Republican Convention

Republicans Nominate Nixon on First Ballot, Choose Henry Cabot Lodge as Running Mate

The 1960 Republican National Convention, meeting in Chicago July 25-28, nominated Vice President Richard M. Nixon of California for President and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts for Vice President. It also adopted a platform designed largely to attract the independent voter.

Although New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, with whom Nixon reached an agreement on platform principles July 23, was given an outside chance for the nomination, and conservatives urged the nomination of Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), Nixon's victory was never in doubt. Rockefeller threw his New York delegation to Nixon July 26 at the conclusion of their successful fight for a more liberal platform. Goldwater July 27 withdrew his name from nomination and asked conservatives to give the ticket their full support.

In Lodge, Nixon chose a running mate from the Eastern internationalist wing of the GOP, a man with 14 years' experience in the U.S. Senate (1937-44; 1947-53) and seven years' experience representing the Nation in the UN (1953-60), a good war record and sufficient political skill to have been one of the managers of Dwight D. Eisenhower's Presidential campaign in 1952. Like the Democratic Presidential nominee, John F. Kennedy, Lodge is from Massachusetts, and it was Kennedy, in fact, who defeated Lodge for the Senate in 1952.

Nixon's command of the party was evident in his margin of victory on the first ballot (1,321 votes to 10 for Goldwater) and in the manner in which he worked July 25-26 to get the Platform Committee to revise an "unsatisfactory" first version of the platform by inserting a much stronger civil rights section and pledges of greater defense efforts.

In a convention in which there was repeated emphasis on foreign policy and the Republicans' capacity to implement it, the selection of Lodge was indicated from the beginning. Midwesterners were reluctant but in the end Lodge's name was the only one put in nomination, and he received 1,330 of 1,331 votes on the first ballot.

Nixon is the first Vice President to be nominated from that office to the Presidency since Martin Van Buren in 1835. He is the first Quaker and the first Californian to be nominated since Herbert Hoover in 1928. The only previous Californian nominated was the GOP's first Presidential candidate, John C. Fremont in 1856.

Nixon has a number of things in common with Kennedy. They both were first elected to the House of Representatives in 1946, both moved quickly up the political ladder. Both are young men: Nixon, 47, is four years, four months and 20 days older than Kennedy, who is 43. Both believe in strong and extensive political organization although Nixon tends to work through party mechanisms and Kennedy is famous for his large personal organization.

Major convention events are described in detail below.

Keynote Address, Rules

In the keynote address July 25, Rep. Walter H. Judd (Minn.) answered Democratic charges against the GOP, catalogued the achievements of the Eisenhower Administration and castigated the two men Republicans were to attack throughout the convention; Democratic Presidential nominee John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

Judd also sounded a theme that was to recur throughout the convention: "We Republicans deeply believe that the first function of our Government is to protect the liberty of the individual citizen, not to take it away.... Rights are not what our Government must do for us; rights are what our Government cannot do to us."

He said that while the Republican Administration resisted the growth of Government, it "moved vigorously whenever and wherever (such action) is the proper and best way to deal with any problem affecting public safety and the people's welfare." He said the Eisenhower years were "undeniably...the best seven-year period in the history of the United States," bringing "prosperity without war -- something our predecessors had never been able to do in this century." He said Mr. Eisenhower had stopped inflation and brought price stability "not by changing our free system but by using it," by removing controls.

Judd said a "standard market basket of groceries" cost a worker 13 hours of labor in 1945, 13.7 hours in 1952 and 10 hours in 1959.

Discussing foreign and defense policies, Judd claimed the Eisenhower Administration had brought "peace with honor". He said the U.S. needed leaders who understood the Communist world conspiracy and asked, "How many of us understand our own system well enough to sell it to others with contagious enthusiasm?.... The man who will be nominated in this convention...will be incomparably the best qualified to deal with the relentless cold war."

Judd said the Administration "found a missile gap and has managed to get it almost closed." In other speeches July 25, former President Herbert Hoover told the convention, "Today, America is in the midst of a frightening moral slump." He called for a "rebirth of that spirit which lies within that word, America."

GOP National Chairman Thruston B. Morton charged Kennedy had suggested apologizing to Khrushchev on the U-2 incident.

Temporary Chairman Cecil H. Underwood, Governor of West Virginia, spoke of Kennedy's youth, his "inexperience" and "the low road of mud, threat and smears" in Kennedy's acceptance speech.

Convention rules and credential reports were adopted without dissent July 26.

REPUBLICANS ADOPT 1960 PLATFORM AFTER CONFLICTS . . .

Platform

The convention July 27 adopted the 1960 Republican platform by voice vote with only a scattering of nays heard.

Highlights of the platform follow. (For full text see p. 1345; for analysis see p. 1354)

PLATFORM HIGHLIGHTS

Foreign Policy -- "To nullify the Soviet conspiracy is our greatest task." It requires that the Nation remain "inflexible against every tyrannical encroachment" and "maintain an armed power exceeded by no other." Aid to the developing nations must be continued, with emphasis on "the increasing use of private capital and government loans, rather than outright grants."

Defense -- "There is no price ceiling on America's security. The United States can and must provide whatever is necessary to insure its own security and that of the free world...." This will require, among other things, "continuation of the 'long-pull' preparedness policies" inaugurated by the Eisenhower Administration.

Economic Growth -- "We must quicken the pace of our economic growth," recognizing that "its mainspring lies in the private sector of the economy." Steps required include tax reform, involving "realistic incentive depreciation schedules," and "maintenance of a stable dollar."

Agriculture -- Rejecting promises of specific price support levels as "cruel deceptions," the plank pledged to "improve and stabilize farm family income" by such steps as "a large-scale land conservation reserve program" and "expansion of the Rural Development Program."

Education -- "Primary responsibility for education must remain with the local community and state." But federal aid should be provided for school construction and college housing, extension of student loan programs, and "consideration of means through tax laws to help offset tuition costs."

Health -- "The aged needing it" should be helped to meet medical care costs through a contributory system providing "the option of purchasing private health insurance."

BACKGROUND

The near-unanimity of passage belied the fights over the civil rights and defense planks which gave a convention whose Presidential nominee was acknowledged to be Vice President Richard M. Nixon before the sessions began its greatest drama. The platform fight proved for Nixon a harder task than nailing down the nomination and served, with the emergence of a platform largely of his own molding, to confirm his position as the new leader of the Republican party.

President Defends Record, Criticizes 'Pessimists'

Addressing the Republican National Convention's "Ike Day" session July 26, President Eisenhower called on Republicans to "talk only the truth" in the 1960 campaign and said a fervent presentation of the facts would insure that "the next President of the United States will be a Republican".

The President delivered what amounted to a stout defense of his nearly eight years in office, and said he had "difficulty in restraining my feelings of indignation" at efforts to "belittle" the Nation's achievements in defense, economic growth, domestic welfare and relations with other nations under Republican administration.

He made these points:

Economic Growth -- The gross national product, measured in constant dollars, had increased by \$100 billion or 25 percent during Eisenhower's tenure, whereas the GNP had decreased in every peacetime year but one of the Truman Administration and "whatever economic growth was realized during the previous Administration occurred mainly under wartime conditions."

The total price rise had been kept below 11 percent during the Eisenhower years, whereas "inflation -- the most insidious and cruel form of taxation ever devised -- drove prices up 48 percent in the previous administration, thus robbing millions of our people of savings and purchasing power." In 1960, the President said, "There are more Americans...employed, at higher wages and with more take-home pay than ever before in our history."

Mr. Eisenhower said he had "heard much from the opposition -- especially from its free-spending clique -- about increasing the rate of economic growth" through governmental activity and expenditures. He said Republicans "reject the argument that healthy growth can thus be bought from the funds of the federal treasury" and "believe profoundly that constant and unnecessary governmental meddling in our economy leads to a standardized, weakened, and tasteless society that encourages dull mediocrity." On the other hand, the President said, "private enterprise, dependent upon the vigor of healthful competition, leads to individual responsibility, pride of accomplishment, and above all, national strength. This has always been, is now -- and I pray will always be -- basic Republican doctrine."

Domestic Achievements -- The President said that in addition to material accomplishments, the U.S. educational structure "has been expanded", "a higher percentage of Americans than ever before own their own homes", "unprecedented" advances had been made in science and technology, research and development funds were two and one-half times greater than seven years ago, 50 million more Americans were covered by private medical and hospital insurance, medical research "has expanded five times", an additional 7½ million persons were covered by Social Security, and at the same time "a budgetary surplus has been achieved, fiscal responsibility has been maintained, and confidence restored."

(Continued on p. 1353)

... NIXON AND ROCKEFELLER AGREE ON "14 POINTS"

The shaping of the platform began with the publication Feb. 12 of "Decisions for a Better America", the report of the GOP Committee on Program and Progress, formed Feb. 25, 1959. The chairman of that committee, Charles H. Percy of Illinois, was named May 11, 1960 as chairman of the 1960 GOP Resolutions (Platform) Committee.

Eight platform subcommittees were established to hold hearings on: foreign policy; national defense; labor and commerce; agriculture and natural resources; education, science and technology; government finance and administration; civil rights and immigration; health, housing, urban problems, veterans and welfare. Party leaders and special interest groups were invited to testify before the 103-man committee or its subcommittees on July 19, 20 and 21.

Among those testifying July 19 were Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.) who articulated the position of party conservatives, and New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, unofficial spokesman of the liberal Republicans. Goldwater said that in foreign affairs "we have moved with timidity and indecision". In domestic affairs, he condemned the "welfare state", saying there had been no national demand for more federal welfare programs. Rockefeller said the balance of world power had shifted to the Soviet Union and called for a "grand design" of regional alliances to make the free world strong. (For Rockefeller views, see Weekly Report p. 1310; for Goldwater, see p. 1339)

Rockefeller's comment was just one in a series of attacks by him on various Administration programs and policies. Nixon, in an apparent move to come to grips with this independent spokesman for a large portion of the party, July 22 called Rockefeller and the result was a meeting that night and into the morning of July 23 at Rockefeller's New York City home. Rockefeller later that day released a list of 14 "specific positions" on foreign policy, national defense and domestic affairs both he and Nixon agreed on, and Nixon released a brief statement of concurrence. (For text see p. 1344.)

PLATFORM CONFLICTS

Platform subcommittees worked on drafts over the weekend of July 22-24 and by the time Nixon arrived in Chicago July 25, the platform was in all but final form. The civil rights subcommittee worked through the night of July 24th and at 7 a.m. adopted a "moderate" civil rights plank over the objections of subcommittee chairman Joseph F. Carlino, speaker of the New York assembly and a representative of Rockefeller.

Carlino walked out of the meeting after it turned down his own more liberal proposal and shortly after, Rockefeller said he and the New York delegation were prepared to make a fight on the convention floor for a stronger plank.

Nixon, on his arrival, said a Presidential nominee could not run on a platform which did not express his views on major issues. He said he expected a strong platform and that he had not "lost faith" in the ability of the Platform Committee to produce an "acceptable" platform. He said he was confident "we" would win any floor fight on the platform if one became necessary.

He canceled his afternoon program for meeting with various state delegations and worked to change the civil rights plank. Nixon, who July 21 had given the Platform Committee a proposed civil rights plank described as "strong", July 25 said he was "not wedded to any particular language" but that a strong plank was "essential". The plank adopted by the civil rights subcommittee he deemed "unsatisfactory".

Goldwater, meanwhile, said that although the Presidential nominee had a "certain right" to influence the party platform, he hoped Nixon "would not push too hard on it," because the party's committee had already made its decisions.

On July 26 Nixon prevailed and the Platform Committee, in two ballots on technicalities, voted 55-41 and 52-43 to make reconsideration possible. It then voted 50-35 to reconsider the civil rights plank. Later in the day the Platform Committee voted 56-28 to accept a stronger plank which Nixon had approved.

Southern delegates were unhappy with the plank but a threatened floor fight with a minority report never materialized.

Rockefeller was reported to be "disappointed" with some of the language, but he later told the New York delegation he was "delighted that the Platform Committee has paved the way for a strong, clear and affirmative civil rights plank."

DEFENSE FIGHT

The other lengthy platform fight was over the defense plank. The Rockefeller-Nixon 14 points had emphasized increased efforts in defense areas; the Eisenhower Administration has stated that present programs were adequate.

The President had July 25 been shown the defense plank as first accepted by the committee and he said it was "pretty good". Rockefeller July 25 said it might be necessary to wage a floor fight on that plank also as it "does not face up realistically to the dangers that threaten the Nation."

The Platform Committee July 26 by voice vote decided to reconsider the defense plank, and Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.), defense subcommittee chairman, sponsored most of the changes which Nixon requested. Percy July 27 said the President was consulted by phone July 26 on the final changes in the plank and gave his approval.

Rockefeller said he was "gratified at the committee's action in recognizing the vital importance of an intensified defense effort."

The final platform was adopted unanimously by the committee.

Percy presented the platform to the convention in the form of excerpts and descriptive language. The presentation, like that of the Democrats, was accompanied by movies illustrating past and present conditions. Percy and other Republicans scolded the Democrats for pessimism about economic conditions, and the Republican movies emphasized "GOP prosperity". Percy said, "This is the good side of America."

... NAMES HENRY CABOT LODGE FOR VICE PRESIDENCY

cast its votes for Nixon and moved the nomination be made by acclamation. Chairman Halleck ruled that the entire roll must be called before such a motion was in order. All states thereafter cast all their votes for Nixon except Louisiana, which gave 10 of its 16 to Goldwater.

At the end of the call, with Nixon having 1,321 votes and Goldwater 10, Louisiana moved that the vote be made unanimous. Halleck suggested Louisiana change its 10 Goldwater votes to Nixon in order to make the results unanimous. Louisiana said it would not change its vote, asked to poll its delegation and then changed its motion to request that the convention make the nomination by acclamation. Halleck ruled that if Louisiana did not change its vote the totals would be read as they stood at the end of the balloting: Nixon 1,321; Goldwater, 10.

Arizona then moved that the nomination be made "unanimous" and the convention accepted this by a voice vote, Halleck ruled, despite audible "noes."

Interviewed immediately after his nomination, Nixon expressed hope he would be a good candidate for his party in the "closest political campaign in this century in our country." He said that often in his political career, although there may have been men more able than he, he was there at the right time in the right place and so was selected for the job. He expressed the thought that selection of the Presidency might also rest with fate: "With the Presidency, the man whom the country needs usually is elected."

The Vice Presidency

In the months before the convention, the name of New York's Governor Rockefeller was mentioned frequently as a Vice Presidential possibility. Rockefeller, however, declared repeatedly that he was not a candidate for Vice President.

Other names mentioned frequently were those of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and Republican National Chairman Thrus-ton B. Morton of Kentucky, a U.S. Senator. There were movements also for Sens. Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, Jacob K. Javits of New York, Barry Goldwater of Arizona and for Secretary of Interior Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and Reps. Gerald R. Ford Jr. (Mich.) and Walter H. Judd (Minn.).

As the convention neared, speculation narrowed to Lodge and Morton. Rockefeller appeared to be excluded July 23 when Nixon said he accepted the New Yorker's statement that he did not want the second spot.

Nixon, on arriving in Chicago July 25, said he had not made a "final decision" on his running mate. News reports July 25-26 said both President Eisenhower and former President Herbert Hoover favored Lodge.

Nixon July 25 said: "The main thing we're looking for is a Vice President who could assume the duties of the Presidency. We will have a ticket of men who share the same views on major problems in this critical time. That is the only way the President can use a Vice President to the fullest."

Seven Republican Governors met July 25 and their spokesman, Illinois Gov. William G. Stratton, announced, "The general consensus was that there should be a number of nominations for Vice President"; the job

should not "be foreclosed as it was in Los Angeles." Indiana Gov. Harold W. Handley said, however, "This is no rebellion." He said the Governors would go along with whatever Nixon decided. Other Governors at the meeting were: Robert E. Smylie of Idaho, Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, Hugo Aronson of Montana, J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware and Christopher Del Sesto of Rhode Island.

Nixon's comment, later in the day, made clear he would select the nominee, although it did not foreclose the possibility there might be two or three "acceptable" names placed before the convention.

BALANCED TICKET

As indications grew that the nominee would be Lodge, former Indiana Gov. Ralph F. Gates (1945-1949) July 25 said, "I say that if Lodge is handed to us we should get up on the floor and make a fight of it. We in the Midwest should get some recognition." Handley July 27 met with Nixon and reported, "I told him we hoped to see a balanced ticket.... I also mentioned that Mr. Lodge would hurt the Republican ticket in Indiana."

Whether to head off trouble from Midwestern areas or for other reasons, Nixon July 26 asked that the selection of the Vice Presidential candidate be put off to July 28, instead of July 27, as originally scheduled.

Hatfield July 26 led a group of Governors to meet Rockefeller in an effort to persuade him to accept the Vice Presidency.

Nixon July 27 announced the names of four men whom he said were "front runners" for the nomination. The four: Lodge, Morton, Judd and Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson. After Nixon's nomination July 27, he went into a late meeting with "25 or 30" Republican leaders to settle the selection of the Vice President.

Early July 28 Nixon called Lodge in New York to say he would "recommend" Lodge's name to the convention.

Most of the early dissent to Lodge evaporated. Handley July 28 said, "We have tried in every way to point out that the great Midwest...should be represented on the ticket.... We certainly feel that we have put up a good fight. However, apparently Mr. Nixon has decided that the 1960 campaign must be fought on foreign policy issues. Henry Cabot Lodge is eminently qualified in those areas."

Goldwater backers July 22 had said, "Too many Republicans of the regular GOP organization remember Henry Cabot Lodge as the man who knifed the late Sen. Robert Taft in the back in 1952." Goldwater himself July 27 said Morton was his own choice but Lodge was "acceptable".

The nomination took place July 28. Judd nominated Lodge, and there were eight seconders: John Volpe, Massachusetts GOP gubernatorial candidate; former Sen. John W. Bricker (Ohio 1947-59); Benjamin Adamowski, state's attorney of Cook County, Ill.; Dr. John C. Woodland; Mrs. Katherine Neuberger, President of the New Jersey Federation of Republican Women; San Francisco Mayor George Christopher; vice chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Iowa, Mrs. Bess Cowden; and Rep. Ford (Mich.)

Lodge was the only candidate nominated. He received 1,330 convention votes on the roll call. Edwin S. Mayer of Texas abstained, later telling a reporter he was a supporter of Goldwater. Mayer changed his vote at the end of the call, making Lodge's nomination unanimous.

The Text of Nixon's Acceptance Speech

Following is the text of the July 28 speech of Vice President Richard M. Nixon accepting the Presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention. The text of Henry Cabot Lodge's speech accepting the Vice Presidential nomination will be carried in the following Weekly Report.

Mr. Chairman, delegates to this convention, my fellow Americans:

I have made many speeches in my life and never have I found it more difficult to find the words adequate to express what I feel as I find them tonight.

To stand here before this great convention, to hear your expression of affection for me, for Pat, for our daughters, for my mother, for all of us who are representing our party is, of course, the greatest moment of my life.

And I just want you to know that my only prayer as I stand here is that in the months ahead I may be in some way worthy of the affection and the trust which you have presented to me on this occasion in everything that I say, everything that I do, everything that I think in this campaign and afterwards.

May I say also that I have been wanting to come to this convention, but because of the protocol that makes it necessary for a candidate not to attend the convention until the nominations are over, I've had to look on it on television. But I want all of you to know that I have never been so proud of my party as I have been in these last three days, and as I have compared this convention, the conduct of our delegates and our speakers with what went on in my native state of California just two weeks ago.

And I congratulate Chairman Halleck and Chairman Morton and all of those who have helped to make this convention one that will stand in the annals of our party forever as one of the finest we have ever held.

Have you ever stopped to think of the memories you will take away from this convention?

The things that run through my mind are these: that first day with the magnificent speeches, Mr. Hoover with his great lesson for the American people, Walter Judd with one of the most outstanding keynote addresses in either party in the history and last night our beloved fighting President making the greatest speech that I have ever heard him make before this convention.

Your platform and its magnificent presentation by Chuck Percy, the chairman. For these and for so many other things, I want to congratulate you tonight and to thank you from the bottom of my heart and on behalf of Americans -- not just Republicans -- Americans everywhere for making us proud of our country and of our two-party system for what you have done.

EISENHOWER PRAISED

And tonight, too, I particularly want to thank this convention for nominating as my running mate a world statesman of the first rank, my friend and colleague, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts.

In refreshing contrast to what happened in Los Angeles you nominated a man who shares my views on the great issues and who will work with me and not against me in carrying out our magnificent platform.

And may I say that during this week we Republicans who feel our convictions strongly about our party and about our country have had our differences but as the speech by Senator Goldwater indicated yesterday and the eloquent and gracious remarks of my friend Nelson Rockefeller indicated tonight, we Republicans know that the differences that divide us are infinitesimal compared to the gulf between us and what the Democrats would put upon us from what they did at Los Angeles at their convention two weeks ago.

It was only eight years ago that I stood in this very place after you had nominated as our candidate for the President one of the great men of our century, and I say to you tonight that for generations to come Americans, regardless of party, will gratefully remember Dwight Eisenhower as the man who brought peace to America, as the man under whose leadership Americans enjoyed the greatest progress and prosperity in history, but above all they will remember him as the man who restored honesty, integrity and dignity to the conduct of government in the highest office of this land.

My fellow Americans, I know now that you will understand what I next say because the next President of the United States will have his great example to follow; because the next President will have new and challenging problems in the world of utmost gravity, this truly is a time for greatness in America's leadership.

I am sure you will understand why I do not say tonight that I alone am the man who can furnish that leadership. That question is not for me but for you to decide. And I only ask that I, I only ask that the thousands in this hall and the millions listening to me on television, I only ask that you make that decision in the most thoughtful way that you possibly can because what you decide this November will not only affect your lives, and your future, it will affect the future of millions throughout the world.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

And I urge you study the records of the candidates, listen to my speeches and that of my opponent and that of Mr. Lodge and that of his opponent and then after you have studied our records and listened to our speeches decide -- decide on the basis of what we say and what we believe which is best qualified to lead America and the free world in this critical period.

And to help you make this decision I would like to discuss tonight some of the great problems which will confront the next President of the United States and the policies I believe that should be adopted to meet them.

One hundred years ago in this city Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President of the United States. The problems which will confront our next President will be even greater than those that confronted him.

The question then was freedom for the slaves and survival of the nation. The question now is freedom for all mankind and the survival of civilization and the choice you make -- you each of you listening to me makes this November can affect the answer to that question.

What should your choice be and what is it?

Well, let's first examine what our opponents offered in Los Angeles two weeks ago.

They claim theirs was a new program but you know what it was? It was simply the same old proposition that a political party should be all things to all men and nothing more than that.

And they promised -- everything to everybody with one exception. They didn't promise to pay the bill. And I say tonight that with their convention, their platform and their ticket they composed a symphony of political cynicism which is out of harmony with our times today.

Now we come to the key question: what should our answer be? And some might say, why, do as they do. Out-promise them, because that's the only way to win.

And I want to tell you my answer. I happen to believe that their program would be disastrous for America. It would wreck our economy; it would dash our people's high hopes for a better life.

And I serve notice here and now that whatever the political consequences, we are not going to try to out-promise our opponents in this campaign.

We are not going to make promises we cannot and should not keep and we are not going to try to buy the people's votes with their own money.

And to those who say that this position will mean political defeat, my answer is this: We have more faith than that in the good sense of the American people, provided the people know the facts, and that's where we come in.

And I pledge to you tonight that we will bring the facts home to the American people, and we will do it with a campaign such as this country has never seen before.

I have been asked by the newsmen sitting on my right and my left all week long, when is this campaign going to begin, Mr. Vice President, on the day after Labor Day or one of the other traditional starting dates? And this my answer: This campaign begins tonight, here and now, and it goes on.

And this campaign will continue from now until Nov. 8 without any let up.

(Continued on p. 1359)

GOLDWATER EMERGES AS TOP CONSERVATIVE SPOKESMAN

Despite the collapse of the Goldwater-for-President boomlet, Arizona's handsome, graying, soft-spoken and highly articulate Republican junior Senator, Barry M. Goldwater, emerged from the 1960 Republican National Convention with an enhanced reputation as America's leading spokesman for conservatism.

It is an accolade of which he is proud. Ever since he came to the Senate in 1953, Goldwater has been preaching and voting the conservative point of view, and it has brought him into frequent conflict with Democrats, labor unions, members of his own party and even the President.

Conservatism Defined

This is how he defined that point of view on Jan. 15, 1959:

"I am totally against the centralization of power and the destruction of individual liberty.... I believe in the free enterprise system, balanced budgets, the soundness of the dollar and lower taxes, more economy in government and the right of a man to spend his own money and not have it spent for him by a bureaucratic government.... I recognized long ago the dangers of labor taking over the politics of this country and I said that was a danger to our republic. I said further that I could see no difference between the corporate barons at the end of the century buying elections for Republicans and the union barons of (the present) buying elections for Democrats."

Goldwater has frequently stated (most recently July 27 at the GOP National Convention when he withdrew his name as a candidate for the Presidential nomination) that the United States is basically a conservative nation, and that Democrats win elections because large numbers of conservatives, who consider even the GOP too liberal, stay home in disgust on election day. He called on conservatives to close ranks behind Richard M. Nixon and go on from there to recapture the Republican party for conservatism. If Republicans would campaign on an outspokenly conservative platform, instead of trying to create a liberal image, he said, they would draw the stay-at-home conservative vote to the polls and win consistently.

This strategy worked for Goldwater himself in 1958. With his views well known after six years in the Senate, Goldwater was reelected by a handsome margin in a state with a 2-1 Democratic preponderance in registration and in a year in which Republicans went down to crushing electoral defeats almost uniformly throughout the Nation.

So impressive was his victory that his Senate GOP colleagues shortly afterwards, on Jan. 21, 1959, named him chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Since then Goldwater has continued on the course that many believe will eventually make him the universally acknowledged conservative spokesman in Congress, as were the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R Ohio 1939-53) and, after him, former Sen. William F. Knowland (R Calif. 1945-59).

Background

Goldwater, now 51, was born Jan. 1, 1909 in Phoenix, Ariz. He was the grandson of a pioneer who came over the mountains to establish Goldwater's as the leading department store in Arizona. After education at Staunton

Military Academy and one year at the University of Arizona, Goldwater entered the family business. In 1934 he was married to the former Margaret Johnson of Muncie, Ind. They have four children: Joanne Ross, Margaret, Barry and Michael. He was in the U.S. Air Force from 1941 to 1945 and is now a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserve. He is a member of the Episcopal church.

In 1949, Goldwater won election to the Phoenix city council. In 1950 he managed the successful campaign to make Howard Pyle Arizona's first Republican Governor in 22 years. In that campaign, Goldwater made use of his World War II experience as a pilot to fly Pyle from town to town in his own airplane -- a technique he used with great success in his own campaigns.

After reelection to the city council in 1951, Goldwater was ready for his main effort, and in 1952 he toppled Senate Majority Leader Ernest W. McFarland (D) in an upset in the Senate race, winning by 6,725 votes. He was helped by Dwight D. Eisenhower's 43,514-vote margin of victory in the state's Presidential balloting.

In 1958 Goldwater completed his assault on what had been a Democratic stronghold by defeating McFarland again, this time by 35,563 votes.

Senate Career

Entering the Senate in 1953, Goldwater was named to the Banking and Currency and Labor and Public Welfare Committees. In 1955 he left Banking and Currency and became a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, on which he is now fourth-ranking GOP member. On the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, on which he has served continuously since 1953, he is the senior Republican. He has also served on the Joint Economic Committee and was a member of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field (the so-called McClellan Committee) from its creation in January 1957 to its expiration in 1960.

In the Senate, Goldwater soon established himself as an outspoken opponent of what he has called unnecessary Government interference with private rights and business, federal encroachment on states' rights, federal assumption of welfare functions better left to the states or to individual initiative, and foreign aid.

In foreign policy votes, for example, Goldwater has voted against final passage of foreign aid (mutual security) appropriations and authorizations bills every time he cast a vote. While he voted for extension of the reciprocal trade program in 1954 and 1955, he opposed it in 1958. He also consistently opposed granting aid to Communist satellites and voted in favor of the Bricker amendment.

On general water and power projects bills, a major issue in Goldwater's native Southwest, the Arizona Senator supported construction authorizations for the Upper Colorado River Storage Project in 1955 but voted against the Hells Canyon Dam in 1956 and in favor of the Natural Gas Act, freeing producers from federal regulation.

On the related issue of tidelands oil, Goldwater in 1953 voted to give the states title to offshore oil deposits. He has also opposed cutting the oil and gas depletion allowance.

His position on states' rights was illustrated by his votes in 1958 on the preemption bill (HR 3), limiting the right of the federal courts to strike down state laws. Goldwater supported the bill.

On farm issues, Goldwater has generally supported Administration plans for gradual reduction of supports.

Goldwater was recorded against on a major vote of 1954 -- the resolution to censure the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis, 1947-57).

On civil rights, he has taken a moderate position. He voted for the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, but in each case opposed moves to expand the scope of federal intervention beyond voting rights cases.

His views on Government spending are illustrated by an April 8, 1957 criticism of the \$72 billion Eisenhower budget as "a betrayal of the people's trust," caused, he said, by the "faulty premises of Modern Republicanism." In 1958 he voted against the Community Facilities Act, authorizing \$1 billion in loans to the localities for public works as an anti-recession measure; in 1958 and 1959 against depressed areas bills authorizing \$379.5 million and \$389.5 million, respectively, for loans and grants to areas of chronic unemployment; and in 1960 against the bill authorizing \$1.8 billion over two years in federal aid to states and localities for public schools.

Goldwater in 1960 has also been a strenuous opponent of the various proposals to have the Government pay the medical bills, or finance medical insurance, of elderly persons eligible for Social Security Old Age and Survivors Insurance. Goldwater May 5 said of the Administration's own federal-state "Medicare Program for the Aged": "It can be dressed up, painted, pictured as voluntary, but any way it is put, the plan offered by Arthur Flemming is socialized medicine." (Weekly Report p. 795)

Views on Labor

It has been on the labor issue, however, above all others, that Goldwater has received national publicity. During his tenure on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, in his three years on the McClellan Committee, in his syndicated newspaper column (begun early in 1960), "How Do You Stand, Sir?" and in Senate and public speeches he has consistently upheld the thesis that big-unionism, compulsory union membership and union spending for political purposes are bad for labor, bad for business and bad for the Nation. On a number of occasions he has come out for Congressional enactment of a national right-to-work law to ban the union shop, for stringent revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, for the prohibition of union political spending in state and local politics and for prohibitions on industry-wide bargaining.

In 1958 he put the label "sweetheart bill" (too weak) on the labor reform bill sponsored by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D Mass.). In 1959 he attacked a similar Kennedy measure on the same grounds that it was too weak, and was the sponsor of a much tougher Administration labor reform bill. He was the only Senator to vote against the Kennedy bill.

He did much to publicize the tougher provisions of the Administration bill, which included restrictions on hot cargo contracts, authorization for the states to assume jurisdiction over minor labor disputes previously reserved to the National Labor Relations Board, toughening of restrictions on secondary boycotts and a partial ban on organizational and recognition picketing.

In 1960, in the minority report on the minimum wage bill (S 3725 -- S Rept 1744) Goldwater said it was the "responsibility of each state" to set minimum wage levels and the existing \$1 federal minimum should not be changed. He also opposed widening the coverage of the minimum wage law. (Weekly Report p. 1170)

A major Goldwater target has the United Automobile Workers Union (AFL-CIO) and its president, Walter P. Reuther.

As a member of the McClellan Committee, Goldwater pressed for an investigation of Reuther and the union. In a 1960 minority report filed March 15, Goldwater, with other GOP members of the Committee, said 1958 and 1959 investigations in the Kohler, Perfect Circle and Gosser cases involving the UAW had not been vigorous or far-reaching enough. Testimony had been sufficient to show, however, that "corruption, misappropriation of funds, bribery, extortion and collusion with the underworld has occurred within the UAW," the Republicans said. "Violence and intimidation are essential parts of the Reuther formula for power," they concluded.

Platform Proposals

Goldwater summed up his general political philosophy July 19 in testimony before the GOP Platform Committee in Chicago:

"I am suggesting that the Republican party must determinedly maintain the most powerful military power in the world and that we must be willing to use this military power -- and our economic power -- to defend the rights of American citizens and to preserve American property.

"I am reminding the Republican Platform Committee that private property and individual liberty are inseparable....

"If we now declare to the rest of the world that our national conscience will not permit any invasion of the Western Hemisphere by either political or military means (or) countenance any aggression by either political or military means against any free nation; and if we back up this announcement with the superior military capacity we have and are capable of providing, then I suggest our enemy, Russian Communism, will not be encouraged to make any miscalculations which might involve the world in total destruction.

"In domestic matters, I am reminding the members of the Republican Platform Committee that there is nothing new about the welfare state...the people of this republic have not demanded federal assistance and federal handouts.... There has been no universal demand for federal aid to education....

"There has been no widespread public demand for federal aid to depressed areas, or federal medical care for the aged, or federal support for the economy....

"I have been constantly impressed by the concern of Republicans everywhere lest the Republican party lose its identity in a mistaken effort to adopt the tactics and the practices of the spend-and-spend, elect-and-elect architects of the New Deal and the Fair Deal....

"Those currently in control of the Democrat party appear to have given their allegiance to the concept of the superstate, with its perniciously paternalistic federal interference; with its dictatorial federal planning, committed to penalizing producers by the imposition of high taxes and distributing the benefits of the production of the energetic workers to those whose lack of initiative makes them eager recipients of governmental help....

"I am urging the Republican Party to stand on those concepts of the functions and responsibility and limitations of the Federal Government which were established on this continent with the creation of the Republic of the United States."

KENNEDY PLANS

Television Debate -- Democratic Presidential nominee John F. Kennedy's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, July 19 indicated Kennedy expected to debate the Republican Presidential nominee on television. Salinger told reporters the major networks were offering free time to the nominees and, he said, Kennedy "presumes there would be joint appearances on television by himself and the Republican nominee." Vice President Richard M. Nixon July 24 said he was willing to take part in such debates provided they were "on great issues rather than between two debaters or two personalities."

Harriman, Reeves, Join Staff -- Former New York Gov. Averell Harriman (1955-59) July 22 joined Kennedy's staff as a foreign policy advisor and had a two-hour talk with the nominee. Harriman said they discussed a proposal to ask Congress in August for \$2 billion in supplemental defense appropriations.

Kennedy July 25 appointed Frank D. Reeves, District of Columbia National Committeeman and civil rights lawyer, as a campaign assistant. Salinger said Reeves, a Negro, would have "a wide variety of duties -- his job is not at all limited to civil rights."

Campaign Kickoff -- Kennedy July 21 announced he would begin his formal campaign in the Nation's newest states, Hawaii and Alaska, "about Sept. 1". The actual commencement date would hinge on the progress of the August session of Congress, which begins Aug. 8. Tentative plans call for Kennedy to follow his Hawaii and Alaska trips with a Labor Day speech in Detroit.

Johnson Conference -- Kennedy July 24 telephoned Vice Presidential nominee Lyndon B. Johnson to discuss campaign and Congressional plans and announced the two would meet at Kennedy's home in Hyannis Port Aug. 1 or 2.

Family Jobs -- Kennedy said in a July 1 interview he planned no White House jobs for members of his family if he were elected President, according to a copyright story by Fletcher Knebel of the Cowles Newspapers Washington Bureau, released July 15.

LABOR SUPPORT DELAYED

The AFL-CIO July 19 postponed a scheduled Aug. 17 meeting of its general board which was to decide on the organization's support for a Presidential ticket in 1960. A spokesman for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), which provides independent support for national candidates endorsed by the general board, July 26 told Congressional Quarterly the postponement would "afford an opportunity" to see what both parties do in the August session of Congress.

The AFL-CIO's 29-member executive council will hold its quarterly meeting Aug. 15 as scheduled. An eight member executive committee of the council is authorized to set the new date for the meeting of the general board, which consists of the executive council plus the heads of all AFL-CIO member unions.

Dissatisfaction on the part of some labor leaders over the nomination of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) as the

Democratic Vice Presidential candidate was reported to be a factor in the delay of the general board meeting. James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers July 15 said he was "stunned and shocked" at the choice. Earlier, a "Political Memo from COPE" dated July 18 but printed, COPE sources said, between the Presidential nomination of John F. Kennedy and the July 14 nomination of Johnson carried a lead story entitled "Kennedy has perfect voting record on labor issues." AFL-CIO President George Meany July 12 said the Democratic platform "merits, and I predict, will receive, the enthusiastic support of every union member at this convention."

James R. Hoffa, president of the International Union of Teamsters, a long time foe of both Kennedy and his brother, Robert, July 15 said his union would wait until after the Republican National Convention was over to decide on a course for the campaign. He said he doubted he would personally endorse a candidate. "I think that should be left to the various joint councils of our union," he said.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION VOTES

A regional analysis of the Presidential balloting at the Democratic National Convention shows the extent to which Presidential nominee John F. Kennedy picked in Vice Presidential nominee Lyndon B. Johnson a near-perfect complement in terms of regional support among convention delegates.

The table below shows how convention votes were cast by region for Kennedy, Johnson, Adlai E. Stevenson Sen. Stuart Symington (D Mo.) and others on the first and only Presidential ballot. Numbers in parentheses show the number of states from which each candidate received votes in each region. Votes from territories and the District of Columbia are not included. (For state-by-state break-down of balloting see Weekly Report p. 1228)

Candidate	East (12 States)	South (13 States)	Midwest (12 States)	West (13 States)
Kennedy	325% (10)	13 (3)	293% (10)	154 (13)
Johnson	24 (4)	336 (11)	3 (3)	42 (8)
Stevenson	14 (3)	5 (3)	7% (4)	53 (8)
Symington	4 (2)	4 (2)	57% (6)	20% (8)
Eight others	42% (2)	54 (4)	42% (5)	1% (3)
Totals	410	412	404	271
Kennedy- Johnson				
Totals	349%	349	269%	196
Kennedy- Johnson				
Percentages	85.2%	84.7%	73.4%	72.3%

Kennedy received more votes than any other candidates from the East, Midwest and West, but lagged far behind Johnson in Southern support and received his next to smallest percentage of votes from the West. The vote for Johnson would tend to make up for Kennedy's relative lag in both regions.

ARKANSAS PRIMARY RESULTS

Gov. Orval Faubus (D) received more votes than his four opponents combined and won renomination without a runoff in the July 26 Arkansas primary. After a campaign in which each candidate had tried to "out segregationist" the others and in which Faubus had been personally attacked by his opponents as giving a bad name to his state and entrenching himself in the state government, unofficial incomplete returns gave Faubus 59.3 percent of the vote. With 2,158 of 2,328 precincts reporting, Faubus had 201,364 votes, Joe C. Hardin of Grady 51,729, Attorney General Bruce Bennett of El Dorado 50,108, Dr. H.E. Williams of Walnut Ridge 28,205 and Hal Millsap Jr. of Siloam Springs 8,148.

Opposing Faubus in the fall will be Republican Henry M. Britt, Hot Springs attorney who has said he would wage a "vigorous campaign" on a states' rights platform. There has not been a Republican Governor in Arkansas in the 20th century.

Sen. John L. McClellan (D) and four incumbent House members were unopposed and their names were not on the ballot. The two House members who had opposition, Rep. James W. Trimble (D), 3rd District, and Rep. Dale Alford (D), 5th District, won renomination easily.

McClellan has never had Republican opposition for election and there are no prospects for an opponent in 1960. The GOP House Campaign Committee July 27 said as far as they knew at present there would be no Republican House candidates in Arkansas.

LOUISIANA PRIMARY RESULTS

Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D) was renominated without opposition in the July 23 Louisiana Congressional primary.

Facing Ellender in November will be George W. Reese Jr., of New Orleans, GOP National Committeeman from Louisiana since 1959. Reese defeated William Dane of New Orleans in the primary.

Runoff contests will be held Aug. 27 to determine the Democratic candidate for two House seats. In the 7th District Rep. T. Ashton Thompson fell just short of a majority and is fairly certain to be renominated over Arsene L. Stewart of DeRidder. The third candidate in the primary was Sam Tarleton of Lake Charles.

A closer contest is expected in the 8th District where former Gov. Earl K. Long (1939-40, 1948-52, 1956-60) of Winnfield received 26,128 votes to 29,854 for Rep. Harold B. McSween, with unofficial returns almost complete. Outcome of the runoff will turn on how 10,378 supporters of the third candidate, former state representative Ben F. Holt, vote. The 8th District is the one formerly represented by Long's brother, the late Rep. George S. Long (1953-58). Holt, like McSween, is from Alexandria.

Rep. Edwin E. Willis won 3rd District renomination over J. Minos Simon. All other incumbents, all Democrats, were renominated without opposition.

Louisiana Republicans, who had challenged House incumbents only in the 2nd District in 1958 will have nominees, all nominated without opposition, in all but the 5th, 7th and 8th Districts in 1960. They are: 1st: Norman W. Prendergast of New Orleans; 2nd: Elliot Ross Buckley of New Orleans; 3rd: Floyd J. Duplantis of Houma; 4th: Fred C. McClanahan of Shreveport; and 6th: Charles H. Dille-muth of Baton Rouge.

TENNESSEE PRIMARY OUTLOOK

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) faces a hard fight for renomination in the Aug. 4 Congressional primary. His main challenger is circuit court judge Andrew T. (Tip) Taylor of Jackson who ran a close second to Gov. Buford Ellington (D) in the 1958 gubernatorial primary. A third candidate, Jake Armstrong of Knoxville, is given little chance for the nomination.

Taylor is a strong segregationist and has charged that Kefauver is too liberal on this as well as other issues, and that he has not properly looked after Tennessee interests in Congress. Kefauver, the 1956 Democratic nominee for the Vice Presidency, did not attend the 1960 Democratic National Convention but remained in Tennessee to campaign.

Incumbent Representatives in the 3rd, 5th, 6th and 9th Districts are being challenged for renomination, although only two are regarded as having serious competition.

In the 3rd District Rep. James B. Frazier Jr. (D) is opposed by city purchasing agent Cooper Holt of Chattanooga. Holt is a former national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Frazier has been a Representative since 1949.

Rep. J. Carlton Loser (D) is opposed in the 5th District by H.J. Ryan, who lost to Loser in the 1958 primary, and Richard Fulton who is putting on a vigorous campaign to unseat Loser.

The primary candidates:

District	Democrats	Republicans
1	Arthur Bright	*B. Carroll Reece
2	Charles D. Lockett	*Howard H. Baker
3	*James B. Frazier Jr. Cooper Holt	
4	*Joe L. Evins	
5	*J. Carlton Loser H.J. Ryan Richard Fulton	
6	*Ross Bass E.L. (Ed) Brown	
7	*Tom Murray	
8	*Robert A. Everett	
9	*Clifford Davis Richard Farrell	

*Incumbent

PRIMARY CALENDAR

Because of state rescheduling of primary dates, the following changes should be made in the political calendar, Weekly Report of April 1, p. 565:

The Louisiana Congressional primary runoff will be Aug. 27, not Oct. 1.

The Alaska Congressional primary will be Aug. 9 not Aug. 2. (For primary outlook story see Weekly Report p. 1308)

The Massachusetts Congressional primary will be Sept. 13, not Sept. 20.

PRIMARY RESULTS

In a July 26 runoff primary for the Democratic nomination in Oklahoma's 1st District, state senator Yates Land narrowly defeated Wesley V. Disney. (Weekly Report p. 1202)

State senator Abner W. Sibal won a July 27 challenge primary for the Republican nomination for Connecticut's 4th District over ex-Rep. Albert P. Morano (1951-59). (Weekly Report p. 1407)

CASH SURPLUS

The Budget Bureau July 21 released the figures for the federal "cash" budget for fiscal 1960 showing a \$702 million excess in federal receipts over spending. Cash income for the Federal Government for the fiscal year which ended June 30 was \$95 billion and spending \$94.3 billion. The Budget Bureau in January had predicted a cash budget deficit of \$542 million.

Besides items in the conventional budget, the cash budget included income and spending of all Government trust funds, such as Social Security and unemployment benefits. The conventional budget released July 20 showed a budget surplus for fiscal 1960 of nearly \$1.1 billion. (Weekly Report p. 1305)

RELATED DEVELOPMENTS -- July 22 -- The Labor Department reported the consumer price index rose one-fifth of 1 percentage point in June to 126.5 percent of the 1947-49 average, a new all-time high. (Weekly Report p. 1167)

July 25 -- The Treasury Department said it would pay off \$10.4 billion in Government securities maturing within the next month in transactions which would result in a \$600 million net reduction in the national debt. Of the total, \$9.6 billion would go to reduce the record high national debt of \$289 billion announced July 20 and the remaining \$800 million for Federal National Mortgage Assn. notes, which are not counted as part of the national debt. The payments would be financed by issuance of about \$9 billion in new national debt obligations, the Department said, with the remaining \$1.4 billion provided by a reduction in the Treasury's cash balance.

WHEAT REFERENDUM

Continuation of existing marketing quotas and acreage controls for the 1961 wheat crop was approved by 87.3 percent of the Nation's wheat farmers who voted in a referendum July 21. Over 170,000 out of more than 900,000 farmers from 39 wheat-producing states approved price supports established by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson at \$1.78 a bushel or 75 percent of parity for the 1961 wheat crop. The total voting was the lowest in the history of the four-year-old wheat program.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, which generally has supported Benson's policies, said the vote was meaningless because the alternative was a drop in price supports to a "disastrous low" of less than \$1.20 a bushel, with a relaxation of production controls for those who chose to sell on the open market. The National Farmers Union, generally aligned with Democratic farm policies, said the result was proof that wheat farmers endorsed high price supports and federal production controls.

NATIONAL GOALS

President Eisenhower July 22 received a progress report on the work of the Committee on National Goals from Chairman Henry M. Wriston. The final report, Wriston later told reporters, would not be submitted until after the November elections in order to keep it dis-

sociated from partisan politics. Topics under study included population and birth control, constructive labor legislation and a federal program of medical care for the aged, Wriston said. President Eisenhower established the Committee Feb. 3. (Weekly Report p. 253)

DISARMAMENT

President Eisenhower July 21 officially recalled the U.S. delegation to the collapsed 10-nation disarmament conference in Geneva, and directed United Nations Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge to request an early meeting of the U.N. Disarmament Commission so the "vital issue of disarmament can be considered promptly once again." (For text of President's statement, see p. 1361)

The Geneva talks collapsed when Communist bloc countries walked out June 27. (Weekly Report p. 1197)

AID TO POLAND

The United States July 21 signed an agreement to supply Poland with an additional \$130 million in economic aid, all in the form of surplus farm products. The commitment brought to \$426.3 million the total amount of farm surpluses pledged to Poland since 1957 and followed closely the July 16 pledge by Poland to pay the U.S. \$40 million over 20 years for the property of American citizens confiscated after World War II.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon July 20 sent a telegram to the Polish National Alliance, an American-Polish group, expressing his pleasure over the additional economic aid.

DRUG LABELING

The Food and Drug Administration July 22 proposed new regulations for the labeling of drugs in order to promote greater safety in their use. An FDA announcement said the new regulations, if put into effect, would require that labels carry detailed information regarding professional use and permit the administration to withhold a new drug from the market until its safety had been verified. Current FDA regulations have not required detailed information on labels if it was available in scientific journals or upon request by doctors.

A spokesman said the proposals had been under study for the past several years and had no connection with recent drug hearings by the Senate Judiciary Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. (Weekly Report p. 1022)

The regulations could be adopted 60 days after publication in the Federal Register.

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

President Eisenhower July 22 directed the heads of all Government departments and agencies to cut employment in fiscal 1961 by 3 percent below the authorized level. The request was made through Maurice H. Stans, director of the Budget Bureau, in a statement calling for "increased vigor and determination" in a drive to improve Government efficiency to permit operation on the most "economical basis possible."

Nixon-Rockefeller Reach Platform Accord

Vice President Richard M. Nixon and New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller reached an agreement on the 1960 Republican platform at a meeting at Rockefeller's New York City home beginning at 7:30 p.m. July 22 and lasting into the early morning of the 23rd.

Both men released statements July 23, with Rockefeller's statement listing 14 points of agreement on policy issues and Nixon's statement expressing his concurrence. The meeting was held at the instigation of Nixon, who telephoned Rockefeller early July 22 to suggest it.

Although the accord had the appearance of uniting the two men, and through them, party "liberals" and "moderates" on issues on which they had seemingly been at odds, it drew a sharp blast from Sen. Barry Goldwater (R. Ariz.) leading voice of GOP conservatives. Goldwater called the agreement a "surrender" on the part of Nixon and "the Munich of the Republican Party".

Following are the complete texts of the Nixon and Rockefeller statements:

NIXON STATEMENT

Governor Rockefeller and I have been in consultation with the Platform Committee since its sessions began. By yesterday, it was apparent that there was general agreement among members of the Committee and between the Governor and myself regarding the basic philosophy to be followed as we go into the 1960 campaign.

Whatever differences that existed between Governor Rockefeller and myself were matters more of specifics than of principle. I felt it in the best interests of both our country and the Republican Party at this critical time in history that it be made clear that we stood firmly together on these important issues.

Therefore, I called Governor Rockefeller and arranged a private meeting last night. The text of the statement released by the Governor defines our area of agreement and provides a guide to our thinking for the consideration of the Platform Committee.

ROCKEFELLER STATEMENT

The Vice President and I met today at my home in New York City.

The meeting took place at the Vice President's request.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the platform of the Republican Party. During the course of the meeting we discussed our views with Chairman Percy and other members of the Platform Committee by telephone. The Vice President and I reached agreement on the following specific and basic positions on foreign policy and national defense:

1. The growing vigor and aggressiveness of communism demands new and profound effort and action in all areas of American life.

2. The vital need of our foreign policy is new political creativity -- leading and inspiring the formation, in all great regions of the free world, of confederations, large enough and strong enough to meet modern problems and challenges. We should promptly lead toward the formation of such confederations in the North Atlantic Community and in the Western Hemisphere.

3. In the field of disarmament, we shall:

- Intensify the quest for better detection methods;
- Discontinue nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere;
- Discontinue other tests as detection methods make possible; and,
- Resume immediately underground nuclear testing for purposes of improving methods of detection.

4. In national defense, the swiftness of the technological revolution -- and the warning signs of Soviet aggressiveness -- makes clear that new efforts are necessary, for the facts of our survival in the 1950's give no assurance of such survival, in the same military posture, in the 1960's.

5. The two imperatives of national security in the 1960's are:

- A powerful second-strike capacity -- a nuclear retaliatory power capable of surviving surprise attack to inflict devastating punishment on any aggressor, and,

- A modern, flexible and balanced military establishment with forces capable of deterring or meeting any local aggression.

6. These imperatives require: more and improved bombers, airborne alert, speeded production of missiles and Polaris submarines, accelerated dispersal and hardening of bases, full modernization of the equipment of our ground forces, and an intensified program for civil defense.

7. The United States can afford and must provide the increased expenditures to implement fully this necessary program for strengthening our defense posture. There must be no price ceiling on America's security.

The Vice President and I also reached agreement on the following specific positions on domestic affairs:

1. Our government must be reorganized -- especially in supporting the President in the crucial decision-making process -- to cope effectively with modern problems and challenges. Specifically this calls for:

- Creation of a post to assist the President in the whole area of national security and international affairs;
- Creation of a post to assist in planning and management of domestic affairs; and,
- Reorganization of defense planning and command to achieve, under the President, unified doctrine and unified direction of forces.

2. The rate of our economic growth must, as promptly as possible, be accelerated by policies and programs stimulating our free enterprise system -- to allow us to meet the demands of national defense and the growing social needs and a higher standard of living for our growing population. As the Vice President pointed out in a speech in 1958, the achievement of a five per cent rate of growth would produce an additional \$10 billion of tax revenue in 1962.

3. Our farm programs must be realistically reoriented by:

- Finding and encouraging ways for our low income farmers to become more productive members of our growing economy;

- At least doubling of the Conservation Reserve;
- Use of price supports at levels best-fitted to specific commodities in order to widen markets, ease production controls, and help achieve equitable farm income;

d. Faster disposal of surpluses through an expanded "Food for Peace" program and allocation of some surplus to a stockpile for civil defense.

4. Our program for civil rights must assure aggressive action to remove the remaining vestiges of segregation or discrimination in all areas of national life -- voting and housing, schools and jobs. It will express support for the objectives of the sit-in demonstrators and will commend the action of those businessmen who have abandoned the practice of refusing to serve food at their lunch counters to their Negro customers and will urge all others to follow their example.

5. Our program for health insurance for the aged shall provide insurance on a sound fiscal basis through a contributory system under which beneficiaries have the option of purchasing private health insurance.

6. Our program for labor, while re-affirming our efforts to support and strengthen the processes of free collective bargaining, shall provide for improved procedures for the resolution of disputes endangering the national welfare.

7. Our program for education will meet our urgent educational needs by calling for prompt and substantial grant aid for school construction primarily on the basis of financial needs, under an equalization formula, and with matching funds by the states -- including these further measures for higher education: grants-in-aid for such buildings as classrooms and laboratories, an expanded loan program for dormitories, expanded student loan and graduate fellowship programs and inauguration of a program of federal scholarships for the most able undergraduates.

These constitute the basic positions for which I have been fighting.

If they are embodied in the Republican Party platform, as adopted by the Convention, they will constitute a platform that I can support with pride and vigor.

COMPLETE TEXT OF 1960 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Following is the complete text of the 1960 platform, entitled "Building a Better America", adopted by the Republican National Convention July 27 (for analysis of platform, see p. 1354, for description of platform fight, see p. 1334):

Building a Better America

Preamble

The United States is living in an age of profoundest revolution. The lives of men and of nations are undergoing such transformations as history has rarely recorded. The birth of new nations, the impact of new machines, the threat of new weapons, the stirring of new ideas, the ascent into a new dimension of the universe -- everywhere the accent falls on the new.

At such a time of world upheaval, great perils match great opportunities -- and hopes, as well as fears, rise in all areas of human life. Such a force as nuclear power symbolizes the greatness of the choice before the United States and mankind. The energy of the atom could bring devastation to humanity. Or it could be made to serve men's hopes for peace and progress -- to make for all peoples a more healthy and secure and prosperous life than man has ever known.

One fact darkens the reasonable hopes of free men: the growing vigor and thrust of Communist imperialism. Everywhere across the earth, this force challenges us to prove our strength and wisdom, our capacity for sacrifice, our faith in ourselves and in our institutions.

Free men look to us for leadership and support, which we dedicate ourselves to give out of the abundance of our national strength.

The fate of the world will be deeply affected, perhaps determined, by the quality of American leadership. American leadership means both how we govern ourselves and how we help to influence others. We deliberate the choice of national leadership and policy, mindful that in some measure our proposals involve the fate of mankind.

The leadership of the United States must be responsible and mature; its promises must be rational and practical, soberly pledged and faithfully undertaken. Its purposes and its aspirations must ascend to that high ground of right and freedom upon which mankind may dwell and progress in decent security.

We are impressed, but not dismayed, by the revolutionary turbulence that is wracking the world. In the midst of violence and change, we draw strength and confidence from the changeless principles of our free Constitution. Free men are invincible when the power and courage, the patience and the fortitude latent in them are drawn forth by reasoned appeal.

In this Republican Platform we offer to the United States our program -- our call to service, our pledge of leadership, our proposal of measures in the public interest. We call upon God, in whose hand is every blessing, to favor our deliberations with wisdom, our nation with endurance, and troubled mankind everywhere with a righteous peace.

Foreign Policy

The Republican Party asserts that the sovereign purpose of our foreign policy is to secure the free institutions of our nation against every peril; to hearten and fortify the love of freedom everywhere in the world; and to achieve a just peace for all of anxious humanity.

The pre-eminence of this Republic requires of us a vigorous, resolute foreign policy -- inflexible against every tyrannical encroachment, and mighty in its advance toward our own affirmative goals.

The Government of the United States, under the Administration of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon, has demonstrated that firmness in the face of threatened aggression is the most dependable safeguard of peace. We now reaffirm our determination to defend the security and the freedom of our country, to honor our commitments to our allies at whatever cost or sacrifice, and never to submit to force or threats. Our determination

to stand fast has forestalled aggression before Berlin, in the Formosa Straits, and in Lebanon. Since 1954 no free nation has fallen victim behind the Iron Curtain. We mean to adhere to the policy of firmness that has served us so well.

We are unalterably committed to maintaining the security, freedom and solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. We support President Eisenhower's reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine in all its vitality. Faithful to our treaty commitments, we shall join the Republics of the Americas against any intervention in our hemisphere, and in refusing to tolerate the establishment in this hemisphere of any government dominated by the foreign rule of communism.

In the Middle East, we shall continue to support the integrity and independence of all the states of that area including Israel and the Arab States.

With specific reference to Israel and the Arab Nations we urge them to undertake negotiations for a mutually acceptable settlement of the causes of tension between them. We pledge continued efforts:

- To eliminate the obstacles to a lasting peace in the area, including the human problem of the Arab refugees.

- To seek an end to transit and trade restrictions, blockades and boycotts.

- To secure freedom of navigation in international waterways, the cessation of discrimination against Americans on the basis of religious beliefs, and an end to the wasteful and dangerous arms race and to the threat of an arms imbalance in the area."

Recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations have been firmly opposed by the Republican Administration. We will continue in this opposition because of compelling evidence that to do otherwise would weaken the cause of freedom and endanger the future of the free peoples of Asia and the world. The brutal suppression of the human rights and the religious traditions of the Tibetan people is an unhappy evidence of the need to persist in our policy.

The countries of the free world have been benefited, reinforced and drawn closer together by the vigor of American support of the United Nations, and by our participation in such regional organizations as NATO, SEATO, CENTO, the Organization of American States and other collective security alliances. We assert our intention steadfastly to uphold the action and principles of those bodies.

We believe military assistance to our allies under the mutual security program should be continued with all the vigor and funds needed to maintain the strength of our alliances at levels essential to our common safety.

The firm diplomacy of the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has been supported by a military power superior to any in the history of our nation or in the world. As long as world tensions menace us with war, we are resolved to maintain an armed power exceeded by no other.

Under Republican administration, the Government has developed original and constructive programs in many fields -- open skies, atoms for peace, cultural and technical exchanges, the peaceful uses of outer space and Antarctica -- to make known to men everywhere our desire to advance the cause of peace. We mean, as a Party, to continue in the same course.

We recognize and freely acknowledge the support given to these principles and policies by all Americans, irrespective of party. Standing as they do above partisan challenge, such principles and policies will, we earnestly hope, continue to have bi-partisan support.

We established a new independent agency, the United States Information Agency, fully recognizing the tremendous importance of the struggle for men's minds. Today, our information program throughout the world is a greatly improved medium for explaining our policies and actions to audiences overseas, answering Communist propaganda and projecting a true image of American life and culture.

This is the Republican record. We rededicate ourselves to the principles that have animated it; and we pledge ourselves to persist in those principles, and to apply them to the problems, the occasions and the opportunities to be faced by the new Administration.

We confront today the global offensive of Communism, increasingly aggressive and violent in its enterprises. The agency of that offensive is Soviet policy, aimed at the subversion of the world.

Recently we have noted Soviet Union pretexts to intervene in the affairs of newly independent countries, accompanied by threats of the use of nuclear weapons. Such interventions constitute a form of subversion against the sovereignty of these new nations and a direct challenge to the United Nations.

The immediate strategy of the Soviet imperialists is to destroy the world's confidence in America's desire for peace; to threaten with violence our mutual security arrangements; and to sever the bonds of amity and respect among the free nations. To nullify the Soviet conspiracy is our greatest task. The United States faces this challenge, and resolves to meet it with courage and confidence.

To this end we will continue to support and strengthen the United Nations as an instrument for peace, for international cooperation, and for the advancement of the fundamental freedoms and humane interests of mankind.

Under the United Nations we will work for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and the extension of the rule of law in the world.

And, in furtherance of President Eisenhower's proposals for the peaceful use of space, we suggest that the United Nations take the initiative to develop a body of law applicable thereto.

Through all the calculated shifts of Soviet tactics and mood, the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has demonstrated its willingness to negotiate in earnest with the Soviet Union to arrive at just settlements for the reduction of world tensions. We pledge the new Administration to continue in the same course.

We are similarly ready to negotiate and to institute realistic methods and safeguards for disarmament, and for the suspension of nuclear tests. We advocate an early agreement by all nations to forego nuclear tests in the atmosphere, and the suspension of other tests as verification techniques permit. We support the President in any decision he may make to reevaluate the question of resumption of underground nuclear explosions testing, if the Geneva Conference fails to produce a satisfactory agreement. We have deep concern about the mounting nuclear arms race. This concern leads us to seek disarmament and nuclear agreements. And an equal concern to protect all peoples from nuclear danger, leads us to insist that such agreements have adequate safeguards.

We recognize that firm political and military policies, while imperative for our security, cannot in themselves build peace in the world.

In Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East, peoples of ancient and recent independence have shown their determination to improve their standards of living, and to enjoy an equality with the rest of mankind in the enjoyment of the fruits of civilization. This determination has become a primary fact of their political life. We declare ourselves to be in sympathy with their aspirations.

We have already created unprecedented dimensions of diplomacy for these purposes. We recognize that upon our support of well-conceived programs of economic cooperation among nations rest the best hopes of hundreds of millions of friendly people for a decent future for themselves and their children. Our mutual security program of economic help and technical assistance; the Development Loan Fund, the Inter-American Bank, the International Development Association and the Food for Peace Program, which create the conditions for progress in less-developed countries; our leadership in international efforts to help children, eliminate pestilence and disease and aid refugees -- these are programs wise in concept and generous in purpose. We mean to continue in support of them.

Now we propose a further evolution of our programs for assistance to and cooperation with other nations, suitable to the emerging needs of the future.

We will encourage the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, to initiate appropriate regional groupings to work out plans for economic and educational development. We anticipate that the United Nations Special Fund would be of assistance in developing such plans. The United States would offer its cooperation in planning, and the provision of technical personnel for this purpose. Agreeable to the developing nations, we would join with them in inviting countries with advanced economies to share with us a proportionate part of the capital and technical aid required. We would emphasize the increasing use of private capital and government loans, rather than outright grants, as a

means of fostering independence and mutual respect. The President's recent initiative of a joint partnership program for Latin America opens the way to this approach.

We would propose that such groupings adopt means to attain viable economies following such examples as the European Common Market. And if from these institutions, there should follow stronger economic and political unions, we would welcome them with our support.

Despite the counterdrive of international Communism, relentless against individual freedom and subversive of the sovereignty of nations, a powerful drive for freedom has swept the world since World War II and many heroic episodes in the Communist countries have demonstrated anew that freedom will not die.

The Republican Party reaffirms its determination to use every peaceful means to help the captive nations toward their independence, and thus their freedom to live and worship according to conscience. We do not condone the subjugation of the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and other once-free nations. We are not shaken in our hope and belief that once again they will rule themselves as nations.

Our time surges with change and challenge, peril and great opportunities. It calls us to great tasks and efforts -- for free men can hope to guard freedom only if they prove capable of historic acts of wisdom and courage.

Dwight David Eisenhower stands today throughout the world as the greatest champion of peace and justice and good.

The Republican Party brings to the days ahead trained, experienced, mature and courageous leadership.

Our Party was born for freedom's sake. It is still the Party of full freedom in our country. As in Lincoln's time, our Party and its leaders will meet the challenges and opportunities of our time and keep our country the best and enduring hope of freedom for the world.

National Defense

The future of freedom depends heavily upon America's military might and that of her allies. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, our military might has been forged into a power second to none. This strength, tailored to serve the needs of national policy, has deterred and must continue to deter aggression and encourage the growth of freedom in the world. This is the only sure way to a world at peace.

We have checked aggression. We ended the war in Korea. We have joined with free nations in creating strong defenses. Swift technological change and the warning signs of Soviet aggressiveness make clear that intensified and courageous efforts are necessary, for the new problems of the 1960's will of course demand new efforts on the part of our entire nation. The Republican Party is pledged to making certain that our arms, and our will to use them, remain superior to all threats. We have, and will continue to have, the defenses we need to protect our freedom.

The strategic imperatives of our national defense policy are these:

- A second-strike capability, that is, a nuclear retaliatory power that can survive surprise attack, strike back, and destroy any possible enemy.
- Highly mobile and versatile forces, including forces deployed, to deter or check local aggressions and "brush fire wars" which might bring on all-out nuclear war.
- National determination to employ all necessary military capabilities so as to render any level of aggression unprofitable. Deterrence of war since Korea, specifically, has been the result of our firm statement that we will never again permit a potential aggressor to set the ground rules for his aggression; that we will respond to aggression with the full means and weapons best suited to the situation.
- Maintenance of these imperatives requires these actions:
 - Unremitting modernization of our retaliatory forces, continued development of the manned bomber well into the missile age, with necessary numbers of these bombers protected through dispersal and airborne alert.
 - Development and production of new strategic weapons, such as the Polaris submarine and ballistic missile. Never again will they be neglected, as intercontinental missile development was neglected between the end of World War II and 1953.
 - Accelerate as necessary, development of hardening, mobility, dispersal, and production programs for long-range missiles and

the speedy perfection of new and advanced generations of missiles and anti-missile missiles.

- Intensified development of active civil defense to enable our people to protect themselves against the deadly hazards of atomic attack, particularly fallout; and to develop a new program to build a reserve of storable food, adequate to the needs of the population after an atomic attack.

- Constant intelligence operations regarding Communist military preparations, to prevent another Pearl Harbor.

- A military establishment organized in accord with a national strategy which enables the unified commands in Europe, the Pacific, and this continent to continue to respond promptly to any kind of aggression.

- Strengthening of the military might of the free-world nations in such ways as to encourage them to assume increasing responsibility for regional security.

- Continuation of the "long pull" preparedness policies which, as inaugurated under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, have avoided the perilous peaks and slumps of defense spending and planning which marked earlier administrations.

There is no price ceiling on America's security. The United States can and must provide whatever is necessary to insure its own security and that of the free world and to provide any necessary increased expenditures to meet new situations, to guarantee the opportunity to fulfill the hopes of men of good will everywhere. To provide more would be wasteful. To provide less would be catastrophic. Our defense posture must remain steadfast, confident, and superior to all potential foes.

Economic Growth and Business

To provide the means to a better life for individual Americans and to strengthen the forces of freedom in the world, we count on the proved productivity of our free economy.

Despite the lamentations of the opposition in viewing the economic scene today, the plain fact is that our 500 billion dollar economy finds more Americans at work, earning more, spending more, saving more, investing more, building more than ever before in history. The well-being of our people, by virtually every yardstick, has greatly advanced under this Republican Administration.

But we can and must do better. We must raise employment to even higher levels and utilize even more fully our expanding, over-all capacity to produce. We must quicken the pace of our economic growth to prove the power of American free enterprise to meet growing and urgent demands: to sustain our military posture, to provide jobs for a growing labor force in a time of rapid technological change, to improve living standards, to serve all the needs of an expanding population.

We therefore accord high priority to vigorous economic growth and recognize that its mainspring lies in the private sector of the economy. We must continue to foster a healthy climate in that sector. We reject the concept of artificial growth forced by massive new federal spending and loose money policies. The only effective way to accelerate economic growth is to increase the traditional strengths of our free economy -- initiative and investment, productivity and efficiency. To that end we favor:

- Broadly-based tax reform to foster job-making and growth-making investment for modernization and expansion, including realistic incentive depreciation schedules.

- Use of the full powers of government to prevent the scourges of depression and inflation.

- Elimination of featherbedding practices by labor and business.

- Maintenance of a stable dollar as an indispensable means to progress.

- Relating wage and other payments in production to productivity -- except when necessary to correct inequities -- in order to help stay competitive at home and abroad.

- Spurring the economy by advancing the successful Eisenhower-Nixon program fostering new and small business; by continued active enforcement of the anti-trust laws; by protecting consumers and investors against the hazard and economic waste of fraudulent and criminal practices in the market place; and by keeping the federal government from unjustly competing with private enterprise upon which Americans mainly depend for their livelihood.

- Continued improvement of our vital transportation network, carrying forward rapidly the vast Eisenhower-Nixon national highway program and promoting safe, efficient, competitive and integrated transport by air, road, rail and water under equitable, impartial and minimal regulation directed to those ends.

- Carrying forward, under the Trade Agreements Act, the policy of gradual, selective -- and truly reciprocal -- reduction of unjustifiable barriers to trade among free nations. We advocate effective administration of the Act's escape clause and peril point provisions to safeguard American jobs and domestic industries against serious injury. In support of our national trade policy we should continue the Eisenhower-Nixon program of using this government's negotiating powers to open markets abroad and to eliminate remaining discrimination against our goods. We should also encourage the development of fair labor standards in exporting countries in the interest of fair competition in international trade. We should, too, expand the Administration's export drive, encourage tourists to come from abroad, and protect U.S. investors against arbitrary confiscations and expropriations by foreign governments. Through these and other constructive policies, we will better our international balance of payments.

- Discharge by government of responsibility for those activities which the private sector cannot do or cannot so well do, such as constructive federal-local action to aid areas of chronic high unemployment, a sensible farm policy, development and wise use of natural resources, suitable support of education and research, and equality of job opportunity for all Americans.

Action on these fronts, designed to release the strongest productive force in human affairs -- the spirit of individual enterprise -- can contribute greatly to our goal of a steady, strongly growing economy.

Labor

America's growth cannot be compartmentalized. Labor and management cannot prosper without each other. They cannot ignore their mutual public obligation.

Industrial harmony, expressing these mutual interests, can best be achieved in a climate of free collective bargaining, with minimal government intervention except by mediation and conciliation.

Even in dealing with emergency situations imperiling the national safety, ways of solution must be found to enhance and not impede the processes of free collective bargaining -- carefully considered ways that are in keeping with the policies of national labor relations legislation and with the need to strengthen the hand of the President in dealing with such emergencies.

In the same spirit, Republican leadership will continue to encourage discussions, away from the bargaining table, between labor and management to consider the mutual interest of all Americans in maintaining industrial peace.

Republican policy firmly supports the right of employers and unions freely to enter into agreements providing for the union shop and other forms of union security as authorized by the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (the Taft-Hartley Act).

Republican-sponsored legislation has supported the right of union members to full participation in the affairs of their union and their right to freedom from racketeering and gangster interference whether by labor or management in labor-management relations.

Republican action has given to millions of American working men and women new or expanded protection and benefits, such as:

- Increased federal minimum wage;
- Extended coverage of unemployment insurance and the payment of additional temporary benefits provided in 1958-59;
- Improvement of veterans' re-employment rights;
- Extension of federal workman's compensation coverage and increase of benefits;

- Legislative assurance of safety standards for longshore and harbor workers and for the transportation of migratory workers;
- An increase of railroad workers' retirement and disability benefits.

Seven past years of accomplishment, however, are but a base to build upon in fostering, promoting and improving the welfare of America's working men and women, both organized and unorganized. We pledge, therefore, action on these constructive lines:

- Diligent administration of the amended Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 (Taft-Hartley Act) and the Labor Manage-

ment Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin Act) with recommendations for improvements which experience shows are needed to make them more effective or remove any inequities.

- Correction of defects in the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to protect employees' and beneficiaries' interests.

- Upward revision in amount and extended coverage of the minimum wage to several million more workers.

- Strengthening the unemployment insurance system and extension of its benefits.

- Improvement of the eight-hour laws relating to hours and overtime compensation on federal and federally assisted construction, and continued vigorous enforcement and improvement of minimum wage laws for federal supply and construction contracts.

- Continued improvement of manpower skills and training to meet a new era of challenges, including action programs to aid older workers, women, youth, and the physically handicapped.

- Encouragement of training programs by labor, industry and government to aid in finding new jobs for persons dislocated by automation or other economic changes.

- Improvement of job opportunities and working conditions of migratory farm workers.

- Assurance of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex; encouragement of programs to insure on-the-job safety, and encouragement of the states to improve their labor standards legislation, and to improve veterans' employment rights and benefits.

- Encouragement abroad of free democratic institutions, higher living standards and higher wages through such agencies as the International Labor Organization, and cooperation with the free trade union movement in strengthening free labor throughout the world.

Agriculture

Americans are the best-fed and the best-clothed people in the world. Our challenge fortunately is one of dealing with abundance, not overcoming shortage. The fullness of our fields, forests and grazing lands is an important advantage in our struggle against worldwide tyranny and our crusade against poverty. Our farmers have provided us with a powerful weapon in the ideological and economic struggle in which we are now engaged.

Yet, far too many of our farm families, the source of this strength, have not received a fair return for their labors. For too long, Democratic-controlled Congresses have stalemated progress by clinging to obsolete programs conceived for different times and different problems.

Promises of specific levels of price support or a single type of program for all agriculture are cruel deceptions based upon the pessimistic pretense that only with rigid controls can farm families be aided. The Republican Party will provide within the framework of individual freedom a greater bargaining power to assure an equitable return for the work and capital supplied by farmers.

The Republican Party pledges itself to develop new programs to improve and stabilize farm family income. It recognizes two main challenges; the immediate one of utilizing income-depressing surpluses, and the long-range one of steady balanced growth and development with a minimum of federal interference and control.

To utilize immediately surpluses in an orderly manner, with a minimum impact on domestic and foreign markets, we pledge:

- Intensification of the Food for Peace program, including new cooperative efforts among food-surplus nations to assist the hungry peoples in less favored areas of the world.

- Payment in kind, out of existing surpluses, as part of our land retirement program.

- Creation of a Strategic Food Reserve properly dispersed in forms which can be preserved for long period against the contingency of grave national emergency.

- Strengthened efforts to distribute surpluses to schools and low-income and needy citizens of our own country.

- A reorganization of Commodity Credit Corporation's inventory management operations to reduce competition with the marketing of farmers.

To assure steady balanced growth and agricultural progress, we pledge:

- A crash research program to develop industrial and other uses of farm products.

- Use of price supports at levels best fitted to specific commodities, in order to widen markets, ease production controls, and help achieve increased farm family income.

- Acceleration of production adjustments, including a large scale land conservation reserve program on voluntary and equitable rental basis, with full consideration of the impact on local communities.

- Continued progress in the wise use and conservation of water and soil resources.

- Use of marketing agreements and orders, and other marketing devices, when approved by producers, to assist in the orderly marketing of crops, thus enabling farmers to strengthen their bargaining power.

- Stepped up research to reduce production costs and to cut distribution costs.

- Strengthening of the educational programs of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant institutions.

- Improvement of credit facilities for financing the capital needs of modern farming.

- Encouragement of farmer owned and operated cooperatives including rural electric and telephone facilities.

- Expansion of the Rural Development Program to help low-income farm families not only through better farming methods, but also through opportunities for vocational training, more effective employment services, and creation of job opportunities through encouragement of local industrialization.

- Continuation and further improvement of the Great Plains Program.

- Legislative action for programs now scheduled to expire for the school milk program, wool, and sugar, including increased sugar acreage to domestic areas.

- Free movement in interstate commerce of agricultural commodities meeting federal health standards.

- To prevent dumping of agricultural imports upon domestic markets.

To assure the American farmer a more direct voice in his own destiny, we pledge:

- To select an official committee of farmers and ranchers, on a regional basis, broadly representative of American agriculture, whose function will be to recommend to the President guidelines for improving the operation of government farm programs.

Natural Resources

A strong and growing economy requires vigorous and persistent attention to wise conservation and sound development of all our resources. Teamwork between federal, state and private entities is essential and should be continued. It has resulted in sustained conservation and resource development programs on a scale unmatched in our history.

The past seven years of Republican leadership have seen the development of more power capacity, flood control, irrigation, fish and wildlife projects, recreational facilities, and associated multi-purpose benefits than during any previous administration in history. The proof is visible in the forests and waters of the land and in Republican initiation of and support for the Upper Watershed Program and the Small Reclamation Projects Act. It is clear, also, in the results of continuing administration-encouraged forest management practices which have brought, for the first time, a favorable balance between the growth and cutting of America's trees.

Our objective is for further growth, greater strength, and increased utilization in each great area of resource use and development. We pledge:

- Use of the community watershed as the basic natural unit through which water resource, soil, and forest management programs may best be developed, with interstate compacts encouraged to handle regional aspects without federal domination.

- Development of new water resource projects throughout the nation.

- Support of the historic policy of Congress in preserving the integrity of the several states to govern water rights.

- Continued federal support for Republican-initiated research and demonstration projects which will supply fresh water from salt and brackish water sources.

- Necessary measures for preservation of our domestic fisheries.

- Continued forestry conservation with appropriate sustained yield harvesting, thus increasing jobs for people and increasing revenue.

- To observe the "preference clause" in marketing federal power.

- Support of the basic principles of reclamation.
- Recognition of urban and industrial demands by making available to states and local governments, federal lands not needed for national programs.

Full use and preservation of our great outdoors are pledged in:

- Completion of the "Mission 66" for the improvement of National Park areas as well as sponsorship of a new "Mission 66" program to encourage establishment and rehabilitation of local, state, and regional parks to provide adequate recreational facilities for our expanding population.

- Continued support of the effort to keep our great out-of-doors beautiful, green, and clean.

- Establishment of a citizens board of conservation, resource and land management experts to inventory those federal lands now set aside for a particular purpose; to study the future needs of the Nation for parks, seashores, wildlife and other recreational areas; and to study the possibility of restoring lands not needed for a federal program.

Minerals, metals, fuels, also call for carefully considered actions in view of repeated failure of Democratic-controlled Congresses to enact any long-range minerals legislation. Republicans, therefore, pledge:

- Long-range minerals and fuels planning and programming, including increased coal research.

- Assistance to mining industries in bridging the gap between peak defense demands and anticipated peacetime demands.

- Continued support for federal financial assistance and incentives under our tax laws to encourage exploration for domestic sources of minerals and metals, with reasonable depletion allowances.

To preserve our fish and wildlife heritage, we pledge:

- Legislation to authorize exchange of lands between state and federal governments to adapt programs to changing uses and habits.

- Vigorous implementation of long-range fish and wildlife programs.

Government Finance

To build a better America with broad national purposes such as high employment, vigorous and steady economic growth, and a dependable currency, responsible management of our federal finances is essential. Even more important, a sound economy is vital to national security. While leading Democrats charge us with a "budget balancing" mentality, their taunts really reflect their frustration over the people's recognition that as a nation we must live within our means. Government that is careless with the money of its citizens is careless with their future.

Because we are concerned about the well-being of people, we are concerned about protecting the value of their money. To this end, we Republicans believe that:

- Every government expenditure must be tested by its contribution to the general welfare, not to any narrow interest group.

- Except in times of war or economic adversity, expenditures should be covered by revenues.

- We must work persistently to reduce, not to increase, the national debt, which imposes a heavy economic burden on every citizen.

- Our tax structure should be improved to provide greater incentives to economic progress, to make it fair and equitable, and to maintain and deserve public acceptance.

- We must resist assaults upon the independence of the Federal Reserve System; we must strengthen, not weaken, the ability of the Federal Reserve System and the Treasury Department to exercise effective control over money and credit in order better to combat both deflation and inflation that retard economic growth and shrink people's savings and earnings.

- In order of priority federal revenues should be used: first, to meet the needs of national security; second, to fulfill the legitimate and urgent needs of the nation that cannot be met by the states, local governments or private action; third, to pay down on the national debt in good times; finally, to improve our tax structure.

National security and other essential needs will continue to make enormous demands upon public revenues. It is therefore imperative that we weigh carefully each demand for a new federal expenditure. The Federal Government should undertake not the most things nor the least things, but the right things.

Achieving this vital purpose demands:

- That Congress, in acting on new spending bills, have figures before it showing the cumulative effect of its actions on the total budget.

- That spending commitments for future years be clearly listed in each budget, so that the effect of built-in expenditure programs may be recognized and evaluated.

- That the President be empowered to veto individual items in authorization and appropriation bills.

- That increasing efforts be made to extend businesslike methods to government operations, particularly in purchasing and supply activities and in personnel.

Government Administration

The challenges of our time test the very organization of democracy. They put on trial the capacity of free government to act quickly, wisely, resolutely. To meet these challenges:

- The President must continue to be able to reorganize and streamline executive operations to keep the executive branch capable of responding effectively to rapidly changing conditions in both foreign and domestic fields. The Eisenhower-Nixon Administration did so by creating a new Department of Health, Education and Welfare, by establishing the National Aeronautics and Space Agency and Federal Aviation Agency, and by reorganizations of the Defense Department.

- Two top positions should be established to assist the President in, (1) the entire field of National Security and International Affairs, and, (2) Governmental Planning and Management, particularly in domestic affairs.

- We must undertake further reorganization of the Defense Department to achieve the most effective unification of defense planning and command.

- Improved conflict of interest laws should be enacted for vigilant protection of the public interest and to remove deterrents to Governmental service by our most able citizens.

- The Federal Government must constantly strengthen its career service and must be truly progressive as an employer. Government employment must be a vocation deserving of high public respect. Common sense demands continued improvements in employment, training and promotion practices based on merit, effective procedures for dealing with employment grievances, and salaries which are comparable to those offered by private employers.

- As already practiced by the Republican membership, responsible Policy Committees should be elected by each party in each house of Congress. This would provide a mechanism for meetings of party Congressional leaders with the President when circumstances demand.

- Needed federal judgeships, appointed on the basis of the highest qualifications, and without limitation to a single political party, should be created to expedite administration of justice in federal courts.

- The remarkable growth of the Post Office since 1952 to serve an additional 9 million urban and 1½ million farm families must be continued. The Post Office must be continually improved and placed on a self-sustaining basis. Progressive Republican policies of the past seven years have resulted in reduced costs, decentralization of postal operations, liberal pay, fringe benefits, improved working conditions, streamlined management, and improved service.

Vigorous state and local governments are a vital part of our federal union. The Federal Government should leave to state and local governments those programs and problems which they can best handle and tax sources adequate to finance them. We must continue to improve liaison between federal, state and local governments. We believe that the Federal Government, when appropriate, should render significant assistance in dealing with our urgent problems of urban growth and change. No vast new bureaucracy is needed to achieve this objective.

We favor a change in the electoral college system to give every voter a fair voice in Presidential elections.

We condemn bigotry, smear and other unfair tactics in political campaigns. We favor realistic and effective safeguards against diverting non-political funds to partisan political purposes.

Republicans will continue to work for Congressional representation and self-government for the District of Columbia and also support the constitutional amendment granting suffrage in national elections.

We support the right of the Puerto Rican people to achieve statehood, whenever they freely so determine. We support the right of the people of the Virgin Islands to an elected Governor, national representation and suffrage, looking toward eventual statehood, when qualified. We also support the right of the people of Guam to an elected Governor and national representation. These pledges are meaningful from the Republican leadership under which Alaska and Hawaii have newly entered the Union.

Congress should submit a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.

Education

The rapid pace of international developments serves to re-emphasize dramatically the challenge which generations of Americans will face in the years ahead. We are reminded daily of the crucial importance of strengthening our system of education to prepare our youth for understanding and shaping the powerful emerging forces of the modern world and to permit the fullest possible development of individual capacities and potentialities.

We express our gratefulness and we praise the countless thousands of teachers who have devoted themselves in an inspired way towards the development of our greatest heritage -- our own children -- the youth of the country.

Education is not a luxury, nor a gift to be bestowed upon ourselves and our children. Education is an investment; our schools cannot become second best. Each person possesses the right to education -- it is his birthright in a free Republic.

Primary responsibility for education must remain with the local community and state. The Federal Government should assist selectively in strengthening education without interfering with full local control of schools. One objective of such federal assistance should be to help equalize educational opportunities. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, the Federal Government will spend more than a billion dollars in 1960 to strengthen American education.

We commend the objective of the Republican Administration in sponsoring the National Defense Education Act to stimulate improvement of study and teaching in selected fields at the local level.

Toward the goal of fullest possible educational opportunity for every American, we pledge these actions:

- Federal support to the primary and secondary schools by a program of federal aid for school construction -- pacing it to the real needs of individual school districts in states and territories, and requiring state approval and participation.

- Stimulation of actions designed to update and strengthen vocational education for both youth and adults.

- Support of efforts to make adequate library facilities available to all our citizens.

- Continued support of programs to strengthen basic research in education; to discover the best methods for helping handicapped, retarded, and gifted children to realize their highest potential.

The Federal Government can also play a part in stimulating higher education. Constructive action would include:

- The federal program to assist in construction of college housing.

- Extension of the federal student loan program and graduate fellowship program.

- Consideration of means through tax laws to help offset tuition costs.

- Continued support of the East-West Center for cultural and technical interchange in Hawaii for the purpose of strengthening our relationship with the peoples of the Pacific world.

- Federal matching grants to help states finance the cost of state surveys and inventories of the status and needs of their school systems.

Provision should be made for continuous attention to education at all levels by the creation of a permanent, top-level commission to advise the President and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, constantly striving to focus the interest of each citizen on the quality of our education at every level, from primary through post-graduate, and for every age group from children to adults.

We are aware of the fact that there is a temporary shortage of classrooms for our elementary and secondary schools in a limited number of states. But this shortage, due to the vigilant action of state legislatures and local school boards, is not increasing, but is decreasing.

We shall use our full efforts in all the states of the Union to have these legislatures and school boards augment their present efforts to the end that this temporary shortage may be eliminated and that every child in this country shall have the opportunity to obtain a good education. The respective states as a permanent program can shoulder this long-standing and cherished responsibility easier than can the Federal Government with its heavy indebtedness.

We believe moreover that any large plan of federal aid to education, such as direct contributions to or grants for teachers salaries can only lead ultimately to federal domination and control of our schools to which we are unalterably opposed.

In the words of President Eisenhower -- "Education best fulfills its high purpose when responsibility for education is kept close to the people it serves -- when it is rooted in the homes, nurtured in the community and sustained by a rich variety of public, private and individual resources. The bond linking home and school and community -- the responsiveness of each to the needs of the others -- is a precious asset of American education."

Science and Technology

Much of America's future depends upon the inquisitive mind, freely searching nature for ways to conquer disease, poverty and grinding physical demands, as well as the science of space and the atom.

We Republicans express our profound gratitude to the great scientists and engineers of our country, both in and out of government, for the remarkable progress they have made. Reliable evidence indicates, all areas of scientific knowledge considered, that our country has been, is, and, under our system of free inquiry, will continue to be the greatest arsenal and reservoir of effective scientific knowledge in the world.

We pledge our continued leadership in every field of science and technology, earthbound as well as spatial, to assure a citadel of liberty from which the fruits of freedom may be carried to all people.

Our continuing and great national need is for basic research -- a wellspring of knowledge and progress. Government must continue to take a responsible role in science to assure that worthwhile endeavors of national significance are not retarded by practical limitations of private and local support. This demands from all Americans the intellectual leadership and understanding so necessary for these creative endeavors and an equal understanding by our scientists and technicians of the needs and hopes of mankind.

We believe the federal roles in research to be in the area of (1) basic research which industry cannot be reasonably expected to pursue, and (2) applied research in fields of prime national concern such as national defense, exploration and use of space, public health, and better common use of all natural resources, both human and physical. We endorse the contracting by government agencies for research and urge allowance for reasonable charges for overhead and management in connection therewith.

The vigor of American science and technology may best be inspired by:

- An environment of freedom and public understanding in which intellectual achievement and scientific research may flourish.

- A decentralization of research into as many centers of creativity as possible.

- The encouragement of colleges and universities, private enterprise, and foundations as a growing source of new ideas and new applications.

- Opportunity for scientists and engineers, in and out of government, to pursue their search with utmost aggressiveness.

- Continuation of the advisory committee to represent the views of the scientific community to the President and of the Federal Council for Science and Technology to foster coordination in planning and execution.

- Continued expansion of the Eisenhower-Nixon Atoms-for-Peace program and a constant striving, backed by scientific advice, for international agreement for peaceful and cooperative exploration and use of space.

Human Needs

The ultimate objective of our free society and of an ever growing economy is to enable the individual to pursue a life of dignity and to develop his own capacities to his maximum potential.

Government's primary role is to help provide the environment within which the individual can seek his own goals. In some areas this requires federal action to supplement individual, local and state initiative. The Republican Party has acted and will act decisively, compassionately, and with deep human understanding in approaching such problems as those of the aged, the infirm, the mentally ill, and the needy.

This is demonstrated by the significant increase in social security coverage and benefits as a result of recommendations made by the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. As a result of these recommendations and normal growth, 14 million persons are receiving benefits today compared to five million in 1952, and benefit payments total \$10.3 billion as compared to \$2.5 billion in 1952. In addition there have been increases in payments to those on public assistance, both for their basic needs and for their health and medical care; and a broad expansion in our federal-state program for restoring disabled persons to useful lives -- an expansion which has accomplished the rehabilitation of over half a million persons during this Administration.

New needs, however, are constantly arising in our highly complex, interdependent, and urbanized society.

OLDER CITIZENS

To meet the needs of the aging, we pledge:

- Expansion of coverage, and liberalization of selected social security benefits on a basis which would maintain the fiscal integrity of the system.
- Support of federal-state grant programs to improve health, welfare and rehabilitation services for the handicapped older persons and to improve standards of nursing home care and care and treatment facilities for the chronically and mentally ill.
- Federal leadership to encourage policies that will make retirement at a fixed age voluntary and not compulsory.
- Support of programs that will persuade and encourage the nation to utilize fully the skills, wisdom and experience of older citizens.
- Prompt consideration of recommendations by the White House Conference on Aging called by the President for January 1961.

HEALTH AID

Development of a health program that will provide the aged needing it, on a sound fiscal basis and through a contributory system, protection against burdensome costs of health care. Such a program should:

- Provide the beneficiaries with the option of purchasing private health insurance -- a vital distinction between our approach and Democratic proposals in that it would encourage commercial carriers and voluntary insurance organizations to continue their efforts to develop sound coverage plans for the senior population.
- Protect the personal relationship of patient and physician.
- Include state participation.

For the needs which individuals of all age groups cannot meet by themselves, we propose:

- Removing the arbitrary 50-year age requirement under the disability insurance program while amending the law also to provide incentives for rehabilitated persons to return to useful work.
- A single, federal assistance grant to each state for aid to needy persons rather than dividing such grants into specific categories.
- A strengthened federal-state program to rehabilitate the estimated 200,000 persons who annually could become independent after proper medical services and occupational training.
- A new federal-state program, for handicapped persons completely dependent on others, to help them meet their needs for personal care.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The Federal Government can and should help state and local communities combat juvenile delinquency by inaugurating a grant program for research, demonstration, and training projects and by placing greater emphasis on strengthening family life in all welfare programs for which it shares responsibility.

VETERANS

We believe that military service in the defense of our Republic against aggressors who have sought to destroy the freedom and dignity of man imposes upon the nation a special responsibility to those who have served. To meet this responsibility, we pledge:

- Continuance of the Veterans Administration as an independent agency.
- The highest possible standard of medical care with increasing emphasis on rehabilitation.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

As recently as 1953, thirty percent of Indian school age children were unable to obtain an education. Through Republican efforts, this fall, for the first time in history, every eligible Indian child will be able to attend an elementary school. Having accomplished this, we will now accelerate our efforts to open up both secondary and higher education opportunities for every qualified Indian youth.

As a result of a stepped-up health program there has been a marked decrease in death rates from tuberculosis and in the infant mortality rate. Also substantial progress has been made in the modernization of health facilities. We pledge continued progress in this area.

We are opposed to precipitous termination of the federal Indian trusteeship responsibility, and pledge not to support any termination plan for any tribe which has not approved such action.

HOUSING

Despite noteworthy accomplishments, stubborn and deep-seated problems stand in the way of achieving the national objective of a decent home in a suitable environment for every American. Recognizing that the Federal Government must help provide the economic climate and incentives which make this objective obtainable, the Republican Party will vigorously support the following steps, all designed to supplement and not supplant private initiative:

- Continued effort to clear slums, and promote rebuilding, rehabilitation, and conservation of our cities.
- New programs to stimulate development of specialized types of housing, such as those for the elderly and for nursing homes.
- A program of research and demonstration aimed at finding ways to reduce housing costs, including support of efforts to modernize and improve local building codes.
- Adequate authority for the federal housing agencies to assist the flow of mortgage credit into private housing, with emphasis on homes for middle- and lower-income families and including assistance in urban residential areas.
- A stepped-up program to assist in urban planning, designed to assure far-sighted and wise use of land and to coordinate mass transportation and other vital facilities in our metropolitan areas.

HEALTH

There has been a five-fold increase in government-assisted medical research during the last six years. We pledge:

- Continued federal support for a sound research program aimed at both the prevention and cure of diseases, and intensified efforts to secure prompt and effective application of the results of research. This will include emphasis on mental illness.
- Support of international health research programs.

We face serious personnel shortages in the health and medical fields. We pledge:

- Federal help in new programs to build schools of medicine, dentistry, public health and nursing and financial aid to students in those fields.

We are confronted with major problems in the field of environmental health. We pledge:

- Strengthened federal enforcement powers in combatting water pollution and additional resources for research and demonstration projects. Federal grants for the construction of waste disposal plants should be made only when they make an identifiable contribution to clearing up polluted streams.
- Federal authority to identify, after appropriate hearings, air pollution problems and to recommend proposed solutions.
- Additional resources for research and training in the field of radiological medicine.

PROTECTION OF CONSUMERS

In safeguarding the health of the nation the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration's initiative has resulted in doubling the resources of the Food and Drug Administration and in giving it new legal weapons. More progress has been made during this period in protecting consumers against harmful food, drugs, and cosmetics than in any other time in our history. We will continue to give strong support to this consumer-protection program.

Civil Rights

This nation was created to give expression, validity and purpose to our spiritual heritage -- the supreme worth of the individual. In such a nation -- a nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal -- racial discrimination has no place. It can hardly be reconciled with a Constitution that guarantees equal protection under law to all persons. In a deeper sense, too, it is immoral and unjust. As to those matters within reach of political action and leadership, we pledge ourselves unreservedly to its eradication.

Equality under law promises more than the equal right to vote and transcends mere relief from discrimination by government. It becomes a reality only when all persons have equal opportunity without distinction of race, religion, color or national origin, to acquire the essentials of life -- housing, education and employment. The Republican Party -- the party of Abraham Lincoln -- from its very beginning has striven to make this promise a reality. It is today, as it was then, unequivocally dedicated to making the greatest amount of progress toward that objective.

We recognize that discrimination is not a problem localized in one area of the country, but rather a problem that must be faced by North and South alike. Nor is discrimination confined to the discrimination against Negroes. Discrimination in many, if not all, areas of the country on the basis of creed or national origin is equally insidious. Further we recognize that in many communities in which a century of custom and tradition must be overcome heartening and commendable progress has been made.

The Republican Party is proud of the civil rights record of the Eisenhower Administration. More progress has been made during the past eight years than in the preceding 80 years. We acted promptly to end discrimination in our nation's capital. Vigorous executive action was taken to complete swiftly the desegregation of the armed forces, veterans' hospitals, navy yards, and other federal establishments.

We supported the position of the Negro school children before the Supreme Court. We believe the Supreme Court school decision was right and should be carried out in accordance with the mandate of the Court.

Although the Democratic-controlled Congress watered them down, the Administration's recommendations resulted in significant and effective civil rights legislation in both 1957 and 1960 -- the first civil rights statutes to be passed in more than 80 years.

Hundreds of Negroes have already been registered to vote as a result of Department of Justice action, some in counties where Negroes did not vote before. The new law will soon make it possible for thousands and thousands of Negroes previously disenfranchised to vote.

By executive order, a committee for the elimination of discrimination in government employment has been reestablished with broadened authority. Today, nearly one-fourth of all federal employees are Negro.

The President's Committee on Government Contracts, under the chairmanship of Vice President Nixon, has become an impressive force for the elimination of discriminatory employment practices of private companies that do business with the government.

Other important achievements include initial steps toward the elimination of segregation in federally aided housing; the establishment of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, which enforces federal civil rights laws; and the appointment of the bi-partisan Civil Rights Commission, which has prepared a significant report that lays the groundwork for further legislative action and progress.

The Republican record is a record of progress -- not merely promises. Nevertheless, we recognize that much remains to be done.

Each of the following pledges is practical and within realistic reach of accomplishment. They are serious -- not cynical -- pledges made to result in maximum progress.

1. Voting. We pledge:

- Continued vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws to guarantee the right to vote to all citizens in all areas of the country.

- Legislation to provide that the completion of six primary grades in a state accredited school is conclusive evidence of literacy for voting purposes.

2. Public Schools. We pledge:

- The Department of Justice will continue its vigorous support of court orders for school desegregation. Desegregation suits now pending involve at least 39 school districts. Those suits and others already concluded will affect most major cities in which school segregation is being practiced.

- It will use the new authority provided by the Civil Rights Act of 1960 to prevent obstruction of court orders.

- We will propose legislation to authorize the Attorney General to bring actions for school desegregation in the name of the United States in appropriate cases, as when economic coercion or threat of physical harm is used to deter persons from going to court to establish their rights.

- Our continuing support of the President's proposal, to extend federal aid and technical assistance to schools which in good faith attempt to desegregate.

We oppose the pretense of fixing a target date 3 years from now for the mere submission of plans for school desegregation. Slow-moving school districts would construe it as a three-year moratorium during which progress would cease, postponing until 1963 the legal process to enforce compliance. We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay.

3. Employment. We pledge:

- Continued support for legislation to establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

- Appropriate legislation to end the discriminatory membership practices of some labor union locals, unless such practices are eradicated promptly by the labor unions themselves.

- Use of the full-scale review of existing state laws, and of prior proposals for federal legislation, to eliminate discrimination in employment, now being conducted by the Civil Rights Commission, for guidance in our objective of developing a Federal-State program in the employment area.

- Special consideration of training programs aimed at developing the skills of those now working in marginal agricultural employment so that they can obtain employment in industry, notably in the new industries moving into the South.

4. Housing. We pledge:

- Action to prohibit discrimination in housing constructed with the aid of federal subsidies.

5. Public Facilities and Services. We pledge:

- Removal of any vestige of discrimination in the operation of federal facilities or procedures which may at any time be found.

- Opposition to the use of federal funds for the construction of segregated community facilities.

- Action to ensure that public transportation and other government authorized services shall be free from segregation.

6. Legislative Procedure. We pledge:

- Our best efforts to change present Rule 22 of the Senate and other appropriate Congressional procedures that often make unattainable proper legislative implementation of constitutional guarantees.

We reaffirm the constitutional right to peaceable assembly to protest discrimination in private business establishments. We applaud the action of the businessmen who have abandoned discriminatory practices in retail establishments, and we urge others to follow their example.

Finally we recognize that civil rights is a responsibility not only of states and localities; it is a national problem and a national responsibility. The Federal Government should take the initiative in promoting inter-group conferences among those who, in their communities, are earnestly seeking solutions of the complex problems of desegregation -- to the end that closed channels of communication may be opened, tensions eased, and a cooperative solution of local problems may be sought.

In summary, we pledge the full use of the power, resources and leadership of the Federal Government to eliminate discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin and to encourage understanding and good will among all races and creeds.

Immigration

Immigration has historically been a great factor in the growth of the United States, not only in numbers but in the enrichment of ideas that immigrants have brought with them. This Republican Administration has given refuge to more than 32,000 victims of Communist tyranny from Hungary, ended needless delay in processing applications for naturalization, and has urged other enlightened legislation to liberalize existing restrictions.

Immigration has been reduced to the point where it does not provide the stimulus to growth that it should, nor are we fulfilling our obligation as a haven for the oppressed. Republican conscience and Republican policy require that:

- The annual number of immigrants we accept be at least doubled.
- Obsolete immigration laws be amended by abandoning the outdated 1920 census data as a base and substituting the 1960 census.
- The guidelines of our immigration policy be based upon judgment of the individual merit of each applicant for admission and citizenship.

Conclusion

We have set forth the program of the Republican Party for the government of the United States. We have written a Party document, as is our duty, but we have tried to refrain from writing a merely partisan document. We have no wish to exaggerate differences between ourselves and the Democratic Party; nor can we, in conscience, obscure the differences that do exist. We believe that the Republican program is based upon a sounder understanding of the action and scope of government. There are many things a free government cannot do for its people as well as they can do them for themselves. There are some things no government should

promise or attempt to do. The functions of government are so great as to bear no needless enlargement. We limit our proposals and our pledges to those areas for which the government of a great republic can reasonably be made responsible. To the best of our ability we have avoided advocating measures that would go against the grain of a free people.

The history and composition of the Republican Party make it the natural instrument for eradicating the injustice and discrimination in this country. We Republicans are fortunate in being able to contend against these evils, without having to contend against each other for the principle.

We believe that we see, so far as men can see through the obscurity of time and trouble, the prudent course for the nation in its hour of trial. The Soviet Union has created another of the new situations of peril which has been the Communist record from the beginning and will continue to be until our strategy for victory has succeeded. The speed of technological change makes it imperative that we measure the new situations by their special requirements and accelerate as appropriate our efforts in every direction, economic and military and political, to deal with them.

As rapidly as we perfect the new generations of weapons we must arm ourselves effectively and without delay. In this respect the nation stands now at one of the new points of departure. We must never allow our technology, particularly in nuclear and propulsion fields, to lag for any reason until such time as we have dependable and honest safeguards of inspection and control. We must take steps at once to secure our position in this regard and at the same time we must intensify our efforts to develop better safeguards in the field of disarmament.

The free nations of the world must ever be rallied to the cause and be encouraged to join together in more effective alliances and unions strong enough to meet all challenges and sustain the common effort. It is urgent that we innovate to keep the initiative for our free cause.

We offer toil and sweat, to ward off blood and tears. We advocate an immovable resistance against every Communist aggression. We argue for a military might commensurate with our universal tasks. We end by declaring our faith in the Republic and in its people, and in the deathless principles of right from which it draws its moral force.

(Continued from p. 1334)

EISENHOWER SPEECH

"Certainly, these are the results of sound, deliberate policies -- including executive veto of irresponsible, narrowly-conceived pork-barrel legislation," the President said.

He said there was more to be done in improving education, solving farm problems, restoring depressed regions and combating juvenile delinquency, discrimination and slums, but "it is Republican policy in such matters to rely first on the ingenuity and initiative of citizens themselves". The "central Government finds itself deeply involved," he said, but assistance must be given "in ways that will protect the traditional relationship between federal and local government" and promote the total economy. The President said it was "irresponsible misrepresentation" for any party to allege that the Nation's human and economic problems could be solved quickly or by "reckless spending" and "without increasing taxes or incurring new deficits".

Defense -- Disputing the "cult of professional pessimists" who "continually mouth the allegation that America has become a second-rate military power", the President said that "in the sum of our capabilities" the U.S. had "become the strongest military power on earth."

He said his Administration was spending more than three times as much annually for peacetime defense as did the Truman Administration during the 12 months before the outbreak of the Korean War, and the U.S. heavy bomber fleet had been doubled and modernized with powerful B-52 intercontinental jet planes. The U.S. continental defense, "almost non-existent" when the Eisenhower Administration took office in 1953, had been "virtually completed" against manned aircraft and "we are pressing forward" with "vast" missile defense programs.

The Truman Administration's total expenditure in the field of long-range ballistic missiles was "less than \$7 million" and the

present Administration "had to start practically from scratch" in the missile field, the President said; space satellites "were ignored during the previous Administration". Since 1953, however, the U.S. had "developed a whole family of intermediate and intercontinental ballistic missiles", had "authorized" 50 new guided-missile ships, had "provided for approximately the same number of nuclear-powered vessels" including two revolutionary Polaris submarines operational this year and "we now lead the world" in scientific space exploration.

Foreign Relations -- The President said he had journeyed more than 90,000 miles and visited more than a score of nations during the past year "in the pursuit of world peace". By conducting foreign relations "with patience and on firm principle" the U.S. had made progress in "solidifying cooperation among our allies", and had given the uncommitted nations a "clearer understanding of our purposes".

South Korea, South Vietnam and Taiwan remained independent, and "the American family of nations is more closely knit than ever before." The Inter-American Development Bank and the Development Loan Fund had been created and the lending capacity of the Export-Import Bank had been increased by \$2 billion.

The President said the "tactical unpredictability and shiftiness of Soviet leaders" calls for "constant analysis and reappraisal", and he announced he was planning an "early conference with Congressional leaders of both parties" to discuss recent crises which the Soviets had been "devising". He said he would "make such recommendations for any changes in our own national program as may then seem appropriate".

On the question of national prestige, the President challenged the "Soviet dictator" to hold free elections under United Nations sponsorship "to permit people everywhere -- in every nation and on every continent" to vote on the issue: "Do you want to live under a Communist regime or under a free system such as found in the United States?" He said the U.S. would gladly measure its world prestige by the results of such a vote.

REPUBLICAN PLEDGES KEYED TO INDEPENDENT VOTER

In common with its Democratic counterpart, the 1960 Republican platform, adopted July 27, marked the transfer of party leadership to a new generation confronted with new problems. In form, style, and tone, the new GOP manifesto, even more than the 1960 Democratic platform, stood in sharp contrast to its predecessors. Both documents, to be sure, affirmed the continuing vitality of the two parties' central disagreement over the role of government in the American system. Both platforms, however, reflected recognition of the central political task of 1960: to win the support of millions of voters less concerned with party dogmas than with effective national leadership in an increasingly complex world.

For the Republican Party, this entails a difficult technical problem -- how to maintain a vigorous defense of the Eisenhower record while acknowledging a need to improve upon it. The problem, symbolized by the last-minute "accord" between Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, was met in straightforward fashion by the platform writers, by bracketing salutes to the performance of the "Eisenhower-Nixon" Administration with pledges to seek new answers to new needs.

The progressive tone thus imparted to the platform did not go so far as Gov. Rockefeller had recommended, nor blur some important differences between the two parties over methods. Like its Democratic counterpart, however, it was notably restrained in its criticism of the opposition and its applause for past glories. The flamboyant claims and charges voiced by party orators at both conventions were echoed only dimly in these campaign appeals to the man whose support both nominees believe holds the key to victory in November -- the independent voter. Even that mild GOP epithet -- the "Democrat Party" -- used in the 1952 and 1956 platforms was carefully avoided in the few explicit references to the opposition.

Foreign Policy

Nowhere was the "new look" of the 1960 GOP platform so evident as in its discussion of foreign policy. Gone were the strident tones of 1952 when a party out of power for 20 years charged that the Democrats had "lost the peace" by a "negative, futile and immoral policy of 'containment.'" Gone too was some of the supreme confidence of the 1956 plank, which still pledged to seek "the liberation of the satellite states."

The 1952 plank, written by John Foster Dulles, destined to become the architect of U.S. foreign policy for most of the Eisenhower Administration, asserted that Republican policies "will inevitably set up strains and stresses within the captive world which will make the rulers impotent to continue in their monstrous ways and mark the beginning of their end." In 1956, the platform stated that "for the first time, we see the positive evidence that forces of freedom and liberation will inevitably prevail if the free nations maintain their strength, unity and resolution."

The theory that Communism would collapse from its internal "strains and stresses" passed from the scene along with Dulles, and there is no mention in the 1960 platform of the "inevitability" of free world victory. The platform's only reference to "victory," in fact, is this circumspect statement in the conclusion: "The Soviet Union has created another of the new situations of peril which has been the Communist record from the beginning and will continue to be until our strategy for victory has succeeded." Meanwhile, the Party offered "toil and sweat, to ward off blood and tears" -- a sharp departure from the glowing promises of 1952 and 1956, and a posture in keeping with the Democratic nominee's promise "of more sacrifice instead of more security."

The dominant theme of the 1960 plank was "firmness." The Administration, it said, "has demonstrated that firmness in the face of threatened aggression is the most dependable safeguard of peace." It pledged to "adhere to the policy of firmness that has served us so well." And in an unusual reversal of past practice, it acknowledged "the support given to these principles and policies by all Americans, irrespective of party." Nowhere in the foreign policy plank was there any of the 1952 and 1956 efforts to portray the Democrats as the "war party" and the Republicans as the "peace party." (The assertion, in the defense plank, that "We ended the war in Korea" was the sole vestige of the "peace and prosperity" theme of the 1956 platform. The word "prosperity" did not appear in any context.)

Gov. Rockefeller's attempt to bolster the foreign policy plank, among others, was only partially successful. In his July 8 memorandum to the platform committee, he had called for "an act of political creation" to meet "the increasing vigor of the Communist challenge," and had proposed that the U.S. take the lead in forming a "North Atlantic Confederation, with a common market," along with a "Western Hemisphere Confederation...with the ultimate objective of a common market for the whole" hemisphere. (For text, see Weekly Report, p. 1312)

In the Rockefeller-Nixon memorandum of July 23, it was agreed that "the vital need of our foreign policy is new political creativity -- leading and inspiring the formation, in all great regions of the free world, of confederations, large enough and strong enough to meet modern problems and challenges. We should promptly lead toward the formation of such confederations in the North Atlantic community and in the Western Hemisphere."

As adopted, however, the platform proposed a more limited goal which clearly did not envision U.S. participation: "We will encourage the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, to initiate appropriate regional groupings to work out plans for economic and educational development...We would propose that such groupings adopt means to attain viable economies following such examples as the European Common Market. And if from these institutions there should follow stronger economic and political unions, we would welcome them with our support."

On other foreign policy and related issues, the 1960 GOP platform spoke as follows:

National Defense -- The key question before the platform committee was whether to accept or reject the implied criticism of the Rockefeller-Nixon statement that "the United States can afford and must provide the increased expenditures to implement fully this necessary program for strengthening our defense posture." The first draft, as released July 24, stated that "the United States can and must provide whatever is necessary to insure its own security...." Rockefeller considered this inadequate and managed to secure several changes in the final draft. Principal change was the insertion, after the "whatever is necessary" phrase, of these words: "to provide any necessary increased expenditures to meet new situations." The final draft also included this new sentence: "Swift technological change and the warning signs of Soviet aggressiveness make clear that intensified and courageous efforts are necessary, for the new problems of the 1960's will of course demand new efforts on the part of our entire nation."

Arms Control -- Rockefeller made less progress with his views on disarmament and nuclear testing. On July 8 he called for a central agency to develop "realistic programs for arms control," a proposal later incorporated in the Democratic platform. He also stated that "we should, for our own security, resume underground nuclear testing -- for its results can vitally affect both offensive and defensive capabilities." His accord with Nixon made no mention of an arms control agency, but did pledge to "resume immediately underground nuclear testing for purposes of improving methods of detection." The first draft of the foreign policy plank, however, made no reference to the resumption of nuclear tests, either for defensive or offensive purposes. To meet Rockefeller's objection, this masterful sentence was inserted in the final draft: "We support the President in any decision he may make to reevaluate the question of resumption of underground nuclear explosions testing, if the Geneva Conference fails to produce a satisfactory agreement."

Trade Policy -- The 1960 plank brought the GOP to substantially the same position affirmed by the Democrats on foreign trade policy. In 1956, for example, the Republican platform declared: "We proudly point out that the Republican party was primarily responsible for initiating the 'escape clause' and 'peril point' provisions of law to make effective the necessary safeguards for American agriculture, labor and business." The 1960 reference was muted: "We advocate effective administration of the Act's escape clause and peril point provisions to safeguard American jobs and domestic industries against serious injury." No mention was made of so-called trade adjustment legislation, proposed in the Democratic platform, but emphasis was placed on constructive steps to "better our international balance of payments." But the next President, whether Republican or Democrat, is certain to encounter strong protectionist sentiment in Congress from members of both parties.

Immigration -- In contrast to the generalities of previous platforms, the 1960 plank asserted that "the annual number of immigrants we accept (should) be at least doubled," and proposed shifting the quota base from the 1920 to the 1960 census -- a key step in the eyes of liberals. More interesting, perhaps, was the reasoning given: "Immigration has been reduced to the point where it does not provide the stimulus to growth that it should..." Whatever the reasoning, however, it will take a monu-

mental shift in prevailing Congressional sentiment to effect any basic revision of the immigration law.

Economic Policy

In planks addressed to economic growth and government finance, the 1960 platform reaffirmed the GOP's traditional dedication to the primacy of "the spirit of individual enterprise." But the language of affirmation was brief and unembellished, in contrast to prior platforms. In 1952, for example, the platform, citing Stalin as authority for the threat of economic collapse, pledged that "we shall not let ourselves go bankrupt." In 1956, the platform talked of aiding friendly countries "within the prudent limits of our resources." No such strictures were voiced in the 1960 platform, which noted that "national security and other essential needs will continue to make enormous demands upon public revenues."

Little of substantive value was yielded by the GOP traditionalists in the 1960 formulation of economic policy. But in tone and direction, it clearly reflected the progressive approach advocated by Rockefeller and embraced by Nixon. Following were the key points:

Economic Growth -- Rockefeller stated July 8 that "we must quicken the pace of our economic growth to prove the power of American free enterprise to meet growing and urgent demands." This was repeated, word for word, in the platform. Rockefeller's call for "an annual rate of growth of 5 to 6 percent" was not included, but the platform encompassed all of his recommendations for growth-producing policies and a number of others besides, including "use of the full powers of government to prevent the scourges of depression and inflation."

Monetary Policy -- In obvious response to Democratic pledges to seek a growth rate of 5 percent and to "put an end to the present high interest, tight money policy," the GOP platform rejected "the concept of artificial growth forced by massive new federal spending and loose money policies." It further stated: "We must resist assaults upon the independence of the Federal Reserve System" -- a thinly veiled accusation of Democratic intent. The terms "tight money" and "loose money" tend to exaggerate the positions of both parties on monetary policy; it seems clear, nevertheless, from the record as much as from their respective platforms, that a Republican Administration would direct monetary policy in a substantially different manner than would a Democratic Administration.

Taxes -- In his July 8 memo, Rockefeller recommended "revision of tax policies and depreciation allowances to encourage a more rapid rate of investment." This was souped up in the platform to read "broadly-based tax reform to foster job-making and growth-making investment for modernization and expansion, including realistic incentive depreciation schedules." The basic point was clear, however: the bite of the corporation income tax must be reduced by increasing deductions for depreciation. This promises to become one of the major points at issue, no matter who is President, when Congress turns to tax revision in 1961, since Democrats are pledged to close "loopholes" as a first step. Neither party's stated approach to the tax issue, however, meets the argument of most economists: that the higher level of investment required to achieve a higher rate of growth can only be attained through a relative increase in saving and decrease in consumption -- by everyone.

Agriculture -- The plight of platform writers in grappling with the hydra-headed farm problem was illustrated in the transformation of Rockefeller's July 8 plank calling for "a Rural Job Opportunity program to provide employment for more than a million farm families now making a poor living from the soil." As rendered in the platform, this read: "Expansion of the Rural Development Program to help low-income farm families not only through better farming methods, but also through opportunities for vocational training, more effective employment services, and creation of job opportunities through encouragement of local industrialization." This version apparently accepted yet tried to obscure Rockefeller's basic point: that the only way to help low-income farmers is to find off-farm jobs for them.

In other respects, the 1960 GOP farm plank hewed fairly close to past performance and philosophy. To the Democratic pledge of 90 percent price supports, the platform retorted that "promises of specific levels of price support...are cruel deceptions." Instead, the GOP pledged "use of price supports at levels best fitted to specific commodities." But the platform writers ignored Rockefeller's call for "gradual removal of all production controls" and "gradual transition to support prices based on a moving market average rather than on the obsolete concept of parity" -- both integral parts of the Eisenhower-Benson farm program and sore points in an election year.

Welfare Measures

As in its approach to economic growth, the 1960 GOP platform departed from its predecessors, in content as well as tone, in its proposals concerning education, health, and other welfare issues.

Education -- In 1952 the Republican platform devoted three short sentences to education, subscribing to the principle of local responsibility. The 1956 plank, not much longer but a big step forward, pledged federal aid for school construction "to relieve a critical classroom shortage." The 1960 plank filled two pages, keyed to the theme that "education is an investment." In addition to endorsing federal aid for school construction, it accepted a federal role in "stimulating higher education" as with college housing aid and student loans.

The platform did not, however, spell out either the amount or form of construction aid -- both at issue in legislation scheduled for Congressional action in August. But it did reject "direct contributions to or grants for teachers salaries" -- a proposal endorsed by the Democratic platform. And the GOP platform ignored Rockefeller's call, endorsed by Nixon, for "inauguration of a program of federal scholarships for the most able undergraduates," although President Eisenhower had recommended 10,000 such scholarships a year in 1958.

Health -- The 1952 GOP platform declared, in no uncertain terms, that "we are opposed to federal compulsory health insurance with its crushing cost, wasteful inefficiency, bureaucratic dead weight, and debased standards of medical care." By 1956, the heat generated by the Ewing plan had subsided, and the GOP platform called for steps to speed "a notable expansion and improvement of voluntary health insurance." By 1960, however, pressure for a federal program was again running strong, this time to help the aged meet the mounting costs of medical care.

Rockefeller's July 8 proposals called for health insurance tied to the "proven contributory system" of social security, for "virtually all over the age of 65 without reference to any test of means," with the option of foregoing benefits "in favor of monthly cash payments." The Rockefeller-Nixon accord dropped the references to social security and a means test, calling for "insurance on a sound fiscal basis through a contributory system under which beneficiaries have the option of purchasing private health insurance." This was further modified in the platform to provide a "health program" (not insurance) for "the aged needing it" (implying a means test) "on a sound fiscal basis and through a contributory system" which would "include state participation."

As in the case of federal aid for school construction, the platform writers were confronted with the fact that Congress was scheduled to act on a health plan in August, and that Rockefeller's proposals were at odds with those of President Eisenhower. The resulting plank straddled the issue, however; the nature of the health program it endorsed was unclear.

Civil Rights

The North-South debate over civil rights, voiced openly at the Democratic convention, was only slightly less apparent at the Republican convention, and in both cases the outcome was a platform plank more progressive and specific than ever before adopted. Although they differed in detail, both met the test of a strong civil rights plank in pledging federal leadership in eliminating all forms of discrimination.

The Republican drafters went through several drafts, however, before arriving at language that was acceptable to party liberals led by Rockefeller. As finally adopted, the plank called for new legislation to --

"Provide that the completion of six primary grades in a state accredited school is conclusive evidence of literacy for voting purposes."

"Authorize the Attorney General to bring actions for school desegregation in the name of the United States...."

"Extend federal aid and technical assistance to schools which in good faith attempted to desegregate."

"Establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity... (and) end the discriminatory membership practices of some labor union locals" if they don't act promptly.

The plank also pledged "action to prohibit discrimination in housing constructed with the aid of federal subsidies" and "opposition to the use of federal funds for the construction of segregated community facilities." Finally, the plank pledged "our best efforts to change present Rule 22 of the Senate and other appropriate Congressional procedures that often make unattainable proper legislative implementation of constitutional guarantees."

The record suggests that the majority of Republicans as well as Democrats in Congress might not support the proposed changes. In 1960, for example, the Senate tabled proposals to establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity and to extend aid to desegregated schools, by votes of 48-38 (D 27-27; R 21-11) and 61-30 (D 37-20; R 24-10). Timing was a key factor, however, in these and other votes to limit the scope of the 1960 Civil Rights Act. Given the necessary leadership from the White House, the strong and specific civil rights commitments of both platforms appear likely to elicit the necessary support from both parties in Congress.

What Happened in the 1960 Republican Convention

Monday, July 25

Morning Session

10:42 a.m. (CDT) -- National Chairman Thruston B. Morton calls the convention to order at Chicago's International Amphitheatre.... Delegates comment on a Gallup poll released two days earlier showing Vice President Richard M. Nixon to be the favorite of 75 percent of Republican voters; most observers regard Nixon as a sure thing for the Presidential nomination.... The identity of the Vice Presidential nominee is the chief topic of speculation and most talk centers on Morton and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge.... New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller is considered unlikely for the Vice Presidential spot, since Nixon July 23 said he accepted Rockefeller's statement that he did not want second place.... Immediately before the convention opening, television stations had shown Lodge in the UN Security Council replying to Soviet charges, involving a flight by a U.S. RB-47 plane, by countercharging that Russia had pirated the plane before shooting it down.... The other major subject of speculation is the possibility of a floor fight over the civil rights and defense sections of the platform.... An almost full amphitheatre hears welcoming speeches by Illinois Gov. William G. Stratton, Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, a Democrat, and Rep. Marguerite Stitt Church (Ill.).

11:10 a.m. -- Nixon arrives at Chicago's O'Hare airfield, is met by three bands and hundreds of supporters.... Nixon says he expects Republican disagreements but these will be patched up.... He says he expects a strong platform and is confident "we" would win any floor fight.

11:40 a.m. -- At the amphitheatre the convention rapidly goes through preliminary routine business, establishing convention procedures, officers and committees.

12:25 p.m. -- First session adjourned.

1:56 p.m. -- Nixon says at a press conference that a Presidential candidate cannot run on a platform which does not express his views on major issues but he has not lost faith in the ability of the Platform Committee to produce an acceptable platform.... He says he has not made a "final decision" on the Vice Presidential nominee because it would not be "proper" for him to do so before he consulted with party officials.

Evening Session

7:05 p.m. -- Morton calls second session to order.

7:20 p.m. -- GOP Illinois Senate candidate Samuel Witwer leads off "Lincoln Day" ceremonies by telling the story of Lincoln's nomination 100 years ago.... Rep. Leslie C. Arends (Ill.) reads Lincoln's acceptance speech, actors read excerpts from various Lincoln speeches.

7:34 p.m. -- Former President Herbert Hoover is presented to the convention for what he had called his "fourth farewell address", setting off a four-minute demonstration.

8:02 p.m. -- Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), chairman of the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, is introduced and receives a nine-minute ovation.... After telling the

convention that Republican philosophy acknowledges "that man has a soul as well as a stomach," Goldwater presents GOP 1960 Senatorial candidates to the convention.

8:32 p.m. -- GOP Assistant National Chairman Clare B. Williams (Fla.) takes over the chair and conducts ceremonies saluting Hawaii and Alaska.

8:57 p.m. -- West Virginia Gov. Cecil H. Underwood, the temporary chairman, is introduced and makes a sharp attack on Democratic Presidential nominee John F. Kennedy.

9:35 p.m. -- Rep. Walter H. Judd (Minn.) begins a 55-minute keynote speech in which he catalogues the achievements of the GOP "stewardship" under President Eisenhower, frequently asking the delegates, "Anything wrong with that?".... Delegates shout "No" each time question is asked.

10:24 p.m. -- Judd, in the course of his speech, mentions Nixon for the first time, setting off prolonged applause.

10:35 p.m. -- Underwood adjourns the second session.

Tuesday, July 26

12:55 p.m. -- President Eisenhower arrives in Chicago, is greeted by an enthusiastic crowd estimated at a million.... During afternoon, New York delegation caucuses and accepts Rockefeller motion to vote for Nixon on first ballot.

7:22 p.m. -- Temporary Chairman Underwood opens Tuesday session.... Rep. Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.) is made the honorary permanent chairman of "this convention and all Republican conventions in the future".... Martin, a former House Speaker and House Minority Leader, was GOP National Chairman in 1940-43 and permanent chairman of the 1940, 1944, 1948, 1952 and 1956 GOP National Conventions.

7:35 p.m. -- Committee reports on rules and credentials are adopted and the permanent organization is elected.

7:50 p.m. -- Permanent Chairman Rep. Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) takes over the chair after delivering a strong attack on Congressional Democrats.

8:13 p.m. -- GOP Congressional Campaign Committee Chairman Rep. William E. Miller (N.Y.) pleads with the convention to "give us a Republican House of Representatives."

8:45 p.m. -- An entertainment time-filler begins, followed by a series of brief talks by "representative Americans" in a "Thank you, Ike" program.

9:20 p.m. -- Senate GOP Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.) introduces President Eisenhower who has "an eye single, and a heart single on what needs to be done."

9:30 p.m. -- The appearance of President and Mrs. Eisenhower on the podium sets off the most enthusiastic demonstration yet from the packed amphitheatre.

9:40 p.m. -- President Eisenhower addresses the convention, speaking of his "great pride in the America of today and my confidence in the brightness of her future."

10:30 p.m. -- Applause of delegates cuts off the President's address before he has quite finished.... He adds a last sentence and the hall bursts into loud applause and cries of "We like Ike!"

10:35 p.m. -- Mrs. Peter T. Gibson, president of the National Federation of Republican Women, presents a gold bracelet to Mrs. Eisenhower.

10:46 p.m. -- Halleck adjourns the third session.

Wednesday, July 27

7:13 p.m. -- Halleck calls the fourth session to order.

7:31 p.m. -- Charles H. Percy of Illinois, the Platform Committee chairman, begins reading from the platform, "Building a Better America".... The presentation, like that of the Democrats, includes films.... The final version of the platform incorporates most of the points agreed upon July 23 by Nixon and Rockefeller in their announcement from New York.

8:15 p.m. -- Rep. Melvin R. Laird (Wis.), vice chairman of the Platform Committee, is introduced by Percy to move "that the convention dispense with further reading of this platform document" and adopt the platform.... Both motions are adopted by voice vote, with some nays heard in the hall.

8:25 p.m. -- Former New York Gov. (1943-55) and two-time (1944, 1948) GOP Presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey delivers a stinging, humorous attack on Kennedy.

8:52 p.m. -- The convention elects its national committee to serve in the four years until it reconvenes.

8:54 p.m. -- The convention votes to suspend for this session the rules limiting the number of seconding speeches and the length of demonstrations.

8:55 p.m. -- Halleck orders the calling of the roll of the states to offer candidates for the Presidential nomination.

8:56 p.m. -- Mrs. Elizabeth E. Heffelfinger, convention secretary, commences the call of the roll.

8:57 p.m. -- Alabama yields to Oregon with the announcement that Oregon Gov. Mark O. Hatfield will nominate Nixon.... Arizona states that its Governor, Paul Fannin, will nominate Goldwater.... All other states pass.

9:03 p.m. -- Hatfield nominates Nixon in a four-minute speech.... A 17-minute demonstration and eight seconding speeches follow.

9:58 p.m. -- Fannin nominates Goldwater in a 10-minute speech which sets off a 12-minute demonstration, followed by four seconding speeches.

10:38 p.m. -- Goldwater asks that his name be withdrawn from nomination and that votes for him be given to Nixon.... He calls on conservatives to close ranks behind Nixon.

10:53 p.m. -- Mrs. Heffelfinger begins the call of the states for balloting for the Presidential nomination.

10:55 p.m. -- Arizona casts its votes for Nixon and moves that the nomination be made by acclamation but Halleck rules that the entire roll must be called before such a motion can be made.

11:01 p.m. -- Nevada casts 12 votes for Nixon, giving him 672 -- more than the 666 needed for nomination.... The roll of the states continues and Goldwater receives 10 of Louisiana's 16 votes.... All other votes (1,321) go to Nixon.

11:10 p.m. -- Louisiana moves that the vote be made unanimous.... Halleck suggests that the 10 votes for Goldwater be withdrawn and given to Nixon but Louisiana declines to change its vote and asks instead that the nomination be made by acclamation.

11:11 p.m. -- Halleck rules that if the vote is not changed the totals will be announced to the convention as they stand, and this is done: Nixon, 1,321; Goldwater, 10.

11:14 p.m. -- Arizona moves that the nomination be made unanimous.... The convention accepts the motion by voice vote with a small scattering of nays.

11:21 p.m. -- Halleck adjourns the session.

Thursday, July 28

6:32 p.m. -- Halleck calls the final session to order.

6:57 p.m. -- Halleck asks Mrs. Heffelfinger to call the roll of the states to offer names in nomination for the Vice Presidency.... Alabama yields to Minnesota so that Judd may nominate Henry Cabot Lodge, whom Nixon had named as his final choice for the post earlier in the day.... All other states pass, some mentioning the favorite sons they had hoped to nominate.

7:12 p.m. -- Judd nominates Lodge, emphasizing his "wide experience and demonstrated competence" in foreign affairs.... After a seven minute demonstration, eight speakers second the nomination.

8:02 p.m. -- Balloting for the Vice Presidential nomination begins.

8:12 p.m. -- Nebraska casts 18 votes for Lodge, giving him more than the 666 needed for nomination.... One delegate from Texas abstains but all other votes from all the states are given to Lodge.

8:23 p.m. -- The roll call is completed and Lodge has 1,330 votes.... The Texas abstainer switches to Lodge, giving him the full 1,331 convention votes.

8:24 p.m. Halleck declares Lodge nominated.

8:49 p.m. -- Lodge is introduced to the convention for his acceptance speech.... The appearance of Lodge, his wife, his son, Assistant Secretary of Labor George Cabot Lodge, and his daughter-in-law sets off a six-minute ovation.

8:55 p.m. -- Lodge accepts the nomination, tells the convention there are others, "many of them in this hall," more deserving than he, but promises to "spend every ounce of energy I have" on the campaign.... Lodge praises Nixon's ability in foreign affairs.

9:19 p.m. -- Halleck introduces Rockefeller, a man "with the courage of his convictions." Rockefeller introduces "a man who'll succeed Dwight D. Eisenhower next January, Richard E. Nixon."

10:29 p.m. -- Nixon, his mother, his wife and his daughters appear on the platform, are joined by the Lodges.

10:38 p.m. -- Nixon begins his speech after what has been "the greatest moment of my life." He tells his party his "only prayer as I stand here is that...I may be worthy of the affection and the trust which you have presented to me on this occasion in everything that I say, everything that I do, everything that I think in this campaign and afterwards".... He thanks the convention for nominating Lodge, saying, "In refreshing contrast to what happened in Los Angeles, you nominated a man who shares my views".... He says the campaign "begins tonight".... He says, "Each American must make a personal and total commitment to the cause of freedom and all it stands for."

11:28 p.m. -- Nixon finishes his speech, receives a standing ovation.... Rockefeller and ex-Sen. William F. Knowland (R Calif.) come to the front of the rostrum.

11:33 p.m. -- The convention's last demonstration ends as Nixon tells the delegates that Lodge became a grandfather for the eighth time just five minutes before his name was placed in nomination.

11:41 p.m. -- The convention adjourns sine die.

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TEXT OF NIXON ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

And I've also been asked by my friends in the press on either side here. They say, "Mr. Vice President, where are you going to concentrate. What states are you going to visit?" And this is my answer: In this campaign, we are going to take no states for granted and we aren't going to concede any states to the opposition!

And I announce to you tonight and I pledge to you that I, personally, will carry this campaign into every one of the fifty states of this nation between now and Nov. 8.

And in this campaign I make a prediction. I say that just as in 1952 and 1956, millions of Democrats will join us not because they are deserting their party but because their party deserted them at Los Angeles two weeks ago.

Now I have suggested to you what our friends of the opposition offered to the American people. What do we offer?

First, we are proud to offer the best eight-year record of any Administration in the history of this country.

But my fellow Americans that isn't all, and that isn't enough, because we happen to believe that a record is not something to stand on but something to build on, and building on the great record of this Administration we shall build a better America. We shall build an America in which we shall see the realization of the dreams, the dreams of millions of people not only in America but throughout the world for a fuller, freer, richer life than men have ever known in the history of mankind.

Let me tell you something of the goal of this better America towards which we will strive.

In this America, our older citizens shall not only have adequate protection against the hazards of ill-health but a greater opportunity to lead a successful and productive life by participating to the extent they are able in the nation's exciting work rather than sitting on the sidelines.

And in this better America, young Americans shall not only have the best basic education in America but every boy and girl of ability regardless of his financial circumstances shall have the opportunity to develop his intellectual capabilities to the full.

Our wage-earners shall enjoy increasingly higher wages in honest dollars with better protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age, and for those millions of Americans who are still denied equality of rights and opportunity, I say there shall be the greatest progress in human rights since the days of Lincoln, 100 years ago.

And America's farmers -- America's farmers -- to whose hard work and almost incredible efficiency we owe the fact that we are the best fed, best clothed people in the world, I say American farmers must and will receive what they do not have today and what they deserve -- a fair share of America's ever-increasing prosperity.

And to accomplish these things, we will develop to the full the untapped natural resources -- our water, our minerals, our power -- with which we are so fortunate to be blessed in this rich land of ours.

FAITH IN PEOPLE

And we shall provide for our scientists, the support they need for the research that will open exciting new highways into the future-new highways in which we shall have progress which we cannot even dream of today. And above all, in this decade of the Sixties, this decade of decision and progress, we will witness the continued revitalization of America's moral and spiritual strength with the renewed faith in the eternal ideals of freedom and justice under God which are our priceless heritage as a people.

And now I am sure that many of you in this hall and many of you on television might well ask, "but Mr. Nixon, don't our opponents favor just such goals as these?" And my answer is yes, of course. All Americans regardless of party want a better life for our people. What's the difference then? And I'll tell you what it is. The difference is in the way we propose to reach these goals and the record shows that our way works and theirs doesn't. And we're going to prove it in this campaign.

We produce on the promises that they make. We succeed where they fail. Do you know why? Because we put, as Governor Rockefeller said in his remarks, we put our primary reliance not upon government but upon people for progress in America. That is why we will succeed.

And we must never forget that the strength of America is not in its government but in its people. And we say tonight that there is no limit to the goals America can reach provided we stay true to the great American tradition.

A government has a role and a very important one but the role of government is not to take responsibility from people but to put responsibility on them. It is not to dictate to people but to encourage and stimulate the creative productivity of 180,000,000 free Americans. That's the way to progress in America.

In other words, we have faith in the people and because our programs for progress are based on that faith, we shall succeed where our opponents will fail in building the better America that I've described.

RACE FOR SURVIVAL

But if these goals are to be reached, the next President of the United States must have the wisdom to choose between the things government should and should not do. He must have the courage to stand against the pressures of the few for the good of the many, and he must have the vision to press forward on all fronts for the better life our people want.

I have spoken to you of the responsibilities of our next President at home. Those which he will face abroad will be infinitely greater. But before I look to the future, let me say a word about the past.

At Los Angeles two weeks ago, we heard the United States -- our Government -- blamed for Mr. Khrushchev's sabotage of the Paris conference. We heard the United States blamed for the actions of communist-led mobs in Caracas and Tokyo. We heard that American education and American scientists are inferior. We heard that America militarily and economically is a second-rate country. We heard that America's prestige is at an all-time low.

This is my answer: I say that at a time the Communists are running us down abroad it's time to speak up. And my friends, let us recognize America has its weaknesses, and constructive criticism of those weaknesses is essential, essential so that we can correct our weaknesses in the best traditions of our democratic process.

But let us also recognize that while it is dangerous to see nothing wrong in America, it is just as wrong to refuse to recognize what is right about America.

And tonight I say to you: no criticism -- no criticism -- should be allowed to obscure the truth either at home or abroad that today America is the strongest nation militarily, economically and ideologically in the world and we have the will and the stamina, the resources to maintain that strength in the years ahead.

And now, if we may turn to the future. We must recognize that the foreign policy problems of the Sixties will be different and they will be vastly more difficult than those of the Fifties through which we have just passed.

We are in a race tonight, my fellow Americans, in a race for survival in which our lives, our fortunes, our liberties are at stake. We are ahead now. But the only way to stay ahead in a race is to move ahead and the next President will make decisions which will determine whether we win or whether we lose this race.

What must we do?

These things, I believe:

He must resolve first and above all that the United States must never settle for second-best in anything.

Let's look at the specifics:

Militarily the security of the United States must be put before all other considerations. Why? Not only because this is necessary to deter aggression but because we must make sure that we are never in a position at the conference table so Mr. Khrushchev or his successor is able to coerce an American President because of his strength and our weakness.

Diplomatically, let's look at what this problem is. Diplomatically our next President must be firm, firm on principle. But he must never be belligerent. He must never engage in a war of words which might heat up the international climate to the igniting point of nuclear catastrophe. But, while he must never answer insults in kind, he must leave no doubt at any time that whether it is in Berlin or in Cuba or anywhere else in the world, America will not tolerate being pushed around by anybody, any place.

Because we have already paid a terrible price in lives and resources to learn that appeasement leads not to peace but to war.

It will indeed take great leadership to steer us through these years, avoiding the extremes of belligerency on the one hand and appeasement on the other.

Now, Mr. Kennedy has suggested that what the world needs is young leadership, and understandably this has great appeal. Because it is true, true, that youth does bring boldness and imagination, and drive to leadership, and we need all those things.

But I think most people will agree with me tonight when I say that President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan, Chancellor Adenauer, are not young men.

But we are indeed fortunate that we have their wisdom and their experience, and their courage on our side in the struggle for freedom today in the world.

And I might suggest that as we consider the relative merits of youth and age, it's only fair to point out that it was not Mr. De Gaulle, or Mr. Macmillan, or Mr. Adenauer, but Mr. Kennedy who made the rash and impulsive suggestion that President Eisenhower should have apologized and sent regrets to Mr. Khrushchev for the U-2 flight which the President had ordered to save our country from surprise attack.

But formidable as will be the diplomatic and military problems confronting the next President, far more difficult and critical will be the decisions he must make to meet and defeat the enemies of freedom in an entirely different kind of struggle.

And now, I want to speak to you of another kind of aggression -- aggression without war, for the aggressor comes not as a conqueror but as a champion of peace, of freedom, offering progress and plenty and hope to the unfortunates of the earth.

And I say tonight that the major problem -- the biggest problem -- confronting the next President of the United States will be to inform the people of the character of this kind of aggression, to arouse the people to the mortal danger it presents and to inspire the people to meet that danger.

And he must develop a grand new strategy which will win the battle for freedom for all men and women without a war. That is the great task of the next President of the United States.

And this will be a difficult task. Difficult because at times our next President must tell the people not what they want to hear but what they need to hear. Why, for example, it may be just as essential to the national interest to build a dam in India as in California. It will be difficult too, because we Americans have always been able to see and understand the danger presented by missiles and airplanes and bombs, but we found it hard to recognize the even more deadly danger of the propaganda that warps the mind, the economic offensive that softens the nation, the subversion that destroys the will of a people to resist tyranny.

And yet may I say tonight that the fact that this threat is as I believe it to be the greatest danger we have ever confronted, this is no reason for lack of confidence in the outcome.

You know why?

Because there is one great theme that runs through our history as a nation. Americans are always at their best when the challenge is greatest.

NECESSARY STEPS

And I say tonight that we Americans shall rise to our greatest heights in this Decade of the Sixties as we mount the offensive to meet those forces which threaten peace and the rights of free men everywhere.

But there are some things we can do and things we must do, and I would like to list them for you tonight.

First, we must take the necessary steps which will assure that the American economy grows at a maximum rate so that we can maintain our present massive lead over the Communist bloc.

How do we do this? There isn't any magic formula by which government in a free nation can bring this about. The way to insure maximum growth in America is not by expanding the functions of government but by increasing the opportunities for investment and creative enterprise for millions of individual Americans.

And at a time when the Communists have found it necessary to turn to decentralization of their economy and to turn to the use of individual incentive to increase productivity, at a time, in other words when they are turning our way, I say we must and we will not make the mistake of turning their way.

There is another step that we must take -- a second one. Our Government activity must be reorganized -- reorganized to take

the initiative from the Communists and to develop and carry out a world-wide strategy, an offensive for peace and freedom.

The complex of agencies which has grown up through the years for exchange of persons, for technical assistance, for information, for loans and for grants, all these must be welded together into one powerful economic and ideological striking force under the direct supervision and leadership of the President of the United States.

Because what we must do you see is to wage the battles for peace and freedom with the same unified direction and dedication with which we wage battles in wars.

And if these activities are to succeed, we must develop a better training program for the men and women who will represent our country at home and abroad.

GRAND OFFENSIVE

And what we need are men with broad knowledge of the intricacies and techniques of the strategy of communism, with a keen knowledge of the great principles for which free people stand and above all men who with zeal and dedication which the Communists cannot match will outthink and outwork and outlast the enemies of freedom wherever they meet them anyplace in the world.

This is the kind of men we must train.

And we must recognize something else. Government can't do this job alone. The most effective proponents of freedom are not governments but free people.

And this means that every American, every one of you listening tonight who works or travels abroad must represent his country at its best in everything that he does.

And the United States, the United States, big as it is, strong as it is, we can't do this job alone.

The best brains, the fullest resources of other free nations which have as great a stake in freedom as we have must be mobilized to participate with us in this task to the extent they are able.

But do you know what is most important of all -- above all -- we must recognize that the greatest economic strength that we can imagine, the finest of government organizations -- all this will fail if we are not united and inspired by a great idea -- an idea which will be a battle cry for a grand offensive to win the minds and the hearts and the souls of men.

Do we have such an idea?

The Communists proclaim over and over again that their aim is the victory of communism throughout the world. It is not enough for us to reply that our aim is to contain communism, to defend the free world against communism, to hold the line against communism. The only answer to a strategy of victory for the communist world is a strategy of victory for the free world.

But let the victory we seek be not victory over any other nation or any other people. Let it be the victory of freedom over tyranny, of plenty over hunger, of health over disease in every country of the world.

When Mr. Khrushchev says our grandchildren will live under communism, let us say his grandchildren will live in freedom.

When Mr. Khrushchev says the Monroe Doctrine is dead in the Americas, we say the doctrine of freedom applies everywhere in the world.

And I say tonight let us welcome Mr. Khrushchev's challenge to peaceful competition of our system. But let us reply, let us compete in the Communist world as well as in the free world, because the Communist dictators must not be allowed the privileged sanctuary from which to launch their guerrilla attacks on the citadels of freedom.

And we say further, extend this competition -- extend it to include not only food and factories as he has suggested but extend it to include the great spiritual and moral values which characterize our civilization.

And further, let us welcome, my friends, let us welcome the challenge, not be disconcerted by it, not fail to meet it. The challenge, presented by the revolution of peaceful peoples' aspirations in South America, in Asia, in Africa. We can't fail in this mission. We can't fail to assist them in finding a way to progress with freedom, so that they will not be faced with the terrible alternative of turning to communism with its promise of progress at the cost of freedom.

Let us make it clear to them that our aim in helping them is not merely to stop communism but that in the great American tradition of concern for those less fortunate than we are, that we welcome the opportunity to work with people everywhere in helping them to achieve their aspirations for a life of human dignity.

And this means that our primary aim must be not to help government but to help people -- to help people attain the life they deserve.

In essence, what I am saying tonight, what our answer is to the threat of the Communist revolution is renewed devotion to the great ideals of the American Revolution -- ideals that caught the imagination of the world 180 years ago and it still lives in the minds and hearts of people everywhere.

I could tell you tonight that all you need to do to bring all these things about that I have described is to elect the right man as President of this country and leave these tasks to him. But my fellow Americans, America demands more than that of me and of you.

When I visited the Soviet Union, in every factory there was a huge sign which read: "Work for the victory of communism."

And what America needs today is not just a President, not just a few leaders, but millions of Americans working for the victory of freedom.

Each American must make a personal and total commitment to the cause of freedom and all it stands for. It means wage earners and employers making an extra effort to increase the productivity of our factories. It means our students in schools striving for excellence rather than adjusting to mediocrity.

It means supporting, encouraging our scientists to explore the unknown, not for just what we can get but for what we can learn. And it means on the part of each American assuming personal responsibility to make this country which we love a proud example of freedom for all the world. Each of us for example doing our part in ending the prejudice which 100 years after Lincoln to our shame still embarrasses us abroad and saps our strength at home; each of us participating in this and other political campaigns, not just by going to the polls and voting but working with the candidate of your choice.

And it means, my fellow Americans, it means sacrifice. But not the grim sacrifice of desperation but the rewarding sacrifice of choice which lifts us out of the humdrum life in which we live and gives us the supreme satisfaction which comes from working together in a cause greater than ourselves, greater than our nation, as great as the whole world itself.

What I proposed tonight is not new. It is as old as America, and as young as America because America will never grow old.

You will remember. Listen, Thomas Jefferson said we act not for ourselves alone but for the whole human race. Lincoln said in giving freedom to the slaves we assure freedom to the free. We shall nobly serve or mainly lose the last best hope of earth. And Teddy Roosevelt said our first duty as citizens of the nation is owed to the United States but if we are true to our principles we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large.

And Woodrow Wilson said a patriotic American is never so proud of the flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to others as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty.

AMERICAN DREAM

And we say -- we say -- to this that a young America shall fulfill her destiny by helping to build a new world in which men can live together in peace and justice and freedom with each other.

But there is a difference today, an exciting difference. And the difference is because of the dramatic breakthroughs in science, for the first time in human history we have the resources -- the resources to wage a winning war against poverty, misery and disease wherever it exists in the world and upon the next President of the United States will rest the responsibility to inspire and to lead the forces of freedom toward this goal.

I am sure now that you understand why I said at the beginning that it would be difficult for any man to say that he was qualified to provide this kind of leadership.

I can only say tonight to you that I believe in the American dream because I have seen it come true in my own life.

I know something of the threat which confronts us, and I know something of the effort which will be needed to meet it.

I have seen hate for America, not only in the Kremlin, but in the eyes of Communists in our own country, and on the ugly face of a mob in Caracas.

I have heard doubts about America, expressed not just by Communists but by sincere students and labor leaders in other countries, searching for the way to a better life and wondering if we had lost the way.

And I have seen love for America in countries throughout the world, in a crowd in Jakarta, in Bogota; in the heart of Siberia, in Warsaw -- 250,000 people on the streets on a Sunday afternoon singing, crying with tears running down their cheeks and shouting: "Nacheea! Nacheea!" "Long live the United States."

And I know, my fellow Americans, I know tonight that we must resist the hate. We must remove the doubts, but above all we must be worthy of the love and the trust of millions on this earth for whom America is the hope of the world.

A hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln was asked during the dark days of the tragic war between the states whether he thought God was on his side. His answer was "my concern is not whether God is on our side, but whether we are on God's side."

My fellow Americans, may that ever be our prayer for our country, and in that spirit, with faith in America, with faith in her ideals and in her people I accept your nomination for President of the United States.



Presidential Report

DISARMAMENT REQUEST

Following is the complete text of President Eisenhower's July 21 statement announcing a U.S. request for an early meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission following the collapse of the ten-power disarmament talks in Geneva (see p. 1343):

I have been greatly concerned that everything possible be done to make progress on the question of disarmament.

The abrupt breakup of the ten nation talks in Geneva by the Soviet Union last month makes it desirable to take further steps so that the vital issue of disarmament can be considered promptly once again. Our efforts to get the Soviet Union to return to the conference table through normal diplomatic channels have not met with success. The need for disarmament in the present world situation is too important to set aside at the present time when deliberate efforts are being made to increase tensions.

The United Nations under the charter has primary responsibility in this field. I have therefore today instructed Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge to request an early meeting of the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations so that we and other members of the international community can continue to search for ways and means to achieve the universal desire to reduce the risk of war by controlled steps of disarmament.

OTHER STATEMENTS

Other recent public statements by President Eisenhower:

July 18 -- Proclamation declaring the drug ethyl 1-(3-cyano-3,3-diphenylpropyl)-4-phenyl-4-piperidinecarboxylate to be an opiate.

July 18 -- Amendment of Executive Order 10289 relating to the suspension of discriminating duties on vessels and merchandise of foreign countries which do not impose discriminating duties on U.S. vessels and merchandise.

July 21 -- Acceptance of resignation of Dallas S. Townsend as Assistant Attorney General and Director of the Office of Alien Property, effective July 22, 1960, to become Special Assistant for Alien Property matters.

July 21 -- Acceptance of resignation of Mason Sears as U.S. representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council effective July 31, 1960.

July 22 -- Proclamation of Oct. 5, 1960 as a National Day of Prayer.

July 22 -- Letter to Frederick M. Eaton, chairman of the U.S. delegation to the conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, upon the close of disarmament talks. The President said Eaton's "strong, courageous and imaginative leadership" had been a "source of pride" and, "It was not due to any fault on the part of yourself and your associates that no agreement was reached."

July 22 -- Letter of appreciation to Lynn U. Stambaugh, outgoing First Vice President of the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

July 22 -- Remarks at ceremonies dedicating Eisenhower Park at Newport, R.I.



The Week In Congress

Nixon and Lodge Republicans at Chicago chose Vice President Richard M. Nixon of California as their Presidential candidate in the 1960 election, and Nixon named Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts as his choice for running mate. Congressional Quarterly's convention coverage includes the nomination activities, text of Nixon's acceptance speech, a number of special features and a six-page running summary that puts on record, and in proportion, every major event of the convention. (Page 1333-40, 1344-61)

Platform Analysis

Like its Democratic counterpart, the 1960 GOP platform marked the transfer of party leadership to a new generation confronted with new problems. The last-minute accord between Vice President Nixon and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller helped shape the progressive tone of the 1960 document as the Republicans aimed their appeals at the man whose support each party expects to be crucial to victory in November -- the independent voter. A Congressional Quarterly special study matches 1960 platform planks against previous platforms as well as past GOP performance. (Page 1354)

President Defends Record

Addressing the GOP convention July 26, President Eisenhower defended the record of his nearly eight years in office and rapped the "cult of professional pessimists" who "mouth the allegation that America has become a second-rate military power". The President said his Administration had a better record of peacetime economic growth than did the Democrats under Truman, had made the United States the "strongest military power on earth" despite the fact that the GOP had to build from scratch on ballistic missiles, continental defense, space probes and modern submarines and bombers, and had brought domestic prosperity while maintaining sound fiscal policies. (Page 1334)

Convention Chronology

Congressional Quarterly's convention coverage includes an hour-by-hour chronology of the events in the Republican National Convention: the times the sessions started and ended, exactly when names were placed in nomination, votes taken, how long demonstrations lasted, when the seconding speeches were made, the chronology of Presidential, Vice Presidential and platform maneuvers. The chronology forms a permanent record of increasing value for background and reference as time passes. (Page 1357)

Conservative Champion

Arizona's Sen. Barry Goldwater emerged from the Republican National Convention with new stature as a leader of American conservatism. In a forceful presentation to the Platform Committee, Goldwater outlined his philosophy of government and told why he thought the party would do better with an outspokenly conservative program than with one that tried to create an image of liberalism. Congressional Quarterly's political biography of Goldwater outlines his career and views. (Page 1339)

Platform Fight, Text

The 1960 Republican platform called for a quickened pace of economic growth, a defense program that puts "no price ceiling on America's security", federal aid for school construction, a higher minimum wage, medical assistance for the elderly who need it, stabilized farm family income and other benefits. Like the Democrats two weeks earlier, the GOP adopted an unusually strong civil rights plank after much tugging and hauling but -- unlike the Democrats -- managed to head off an open battle on the floor of the convention. Congressional Quarterly carries the complete story of the platform formulation and the full text as finally adopted. (Page 1334, 1344-53)

Around the Capitol

The Budget Bureau July 21 reported a surplus of \$702 million in the fiscal 1960 national "cash" budget -- receipts were \$95 billion and spending \$94.3 billion.... The Treasury Department July 25 said it would pay off \$600 million of the national debt, which amounts to \$289 billion.... The U.S. and Poland July 21 signed a \$130 million economic aid agreement -- all of which will be in the form of surplus foods... President Eisenhower July 22 called for a 3 percent reduction in federal employment, to be carried out with "increased vigor and determination". (Page 1343)

